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WISDOM, RIGHTEOUSNESS, DUTY, AND FREEDOM,
The only Sure Foundations of Empire.

SPEECH

OF

HON. GEORGE F. HOAR,
OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

January 9, 1900.

WASHINGTON.
1900.



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SPEECH

OF

HON. GEORGE F. HOAR.

The Senate having under consideration the joint resolution (S. R. 53) defining the policy of the United States relative to the Philippine Islands, as follows:

Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Philippine Islands are territory belonging to the United States; that it is the intention of the United States to retain them as such and to establish and maintain such governmental control throughout the archipelago as the situation may demand—

Mr. HOAR said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: I have listened, delighted, as have, I suppose, all the members of the Senate, to the eloquence of my honorable friend from Indiana [Mr. BEVERIDGE]. I am glad to welcome to the public service his enthusiasm, his patriotism, his silver speech, and the earnestness and the courage with which he has devoted himself to a discharge of his duty to the Republic as he conceives it. Yet, Mr. President, as I heard his eloquent description of wealth and glory and commerce and trade, I listened in vain for those words which the American people have been wont to take upon their lips in every solemn crisis of their history. I heard much calculated to excite the imagination of the youth seeking wealth or the youth charmed by the dream of empire. But the words Right, Justice, Duty, Freedom were absent, my friend must permit me to say, from that eloquent speech. I could think as this brave young Republic of ours listened to what he had to say of but one occurrence:

Then the devil taketh Him up into an exceeding high mountain and sheweth Him all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them.

And the devil said unto Him, "All these things will I give Thee if Thou wilt fall down and worship me."

Then saith Jesus unto him, "Get thee behind me, Satan."

Mr. President, the Senator himself and the evidence coming from our two commanders, General Otis and Admiral Dewey, and witnesses for whom they vouch, refute every one of the propositions of fact on which my honorable friend has built his glittering temple of glass. He describes the impotence and ineffectual attempt of Spain for three hundred years to reduce that people to subjection; tells us that she had failed. He counsels us to avoid the errors and the mistakes and the sins she has committed. If that be true, Mr. President, where did Spain get the right to sell the people of the Philippine Islands to us? They had risen against that effete and impotent and ineffectual effort of Spain; they had driven her from the entire soil of their island, save a single city; they hemmed in her troops in that single city of Manila by a cordon of their troops stretching from water to water; and Spain surrendered to us only because her soldiers could not get out of reach

of the American guns without being compelled to surrender to the Filipinos.

I think you will have to enlarge the doctrines of the American Declaration of Independence. I think you will have to build anew a Constitution which, he says, is only an instrument and not a rule of duty, before you can find your right to buy and sell that people like sheep.

My honorable friend, I am sure, when he reflects upon it, will never advise the people of the United States to do a base thing for all this wealth, for all this glory, for all this empire. I say if it be true that that was a people that desired independence and were fit for independence, then it would be a base thing for this young giant in its might to strike down that infant republic. Do you not think so? [Addressing Mr. BEVERIDGE.] If you do think so, I can prove to the Senate every one of these propositions from the testimony of Otis and of Dewey and of Schurman and of the witnesses for whom they vouch.

The Senator said that he said it in the sorrow of his heart, and he would not have said it if he had not been compelled to say it, that all this blood and warfare and loss of life and expense of treasure in this war was occasioned by utterances at home and, he was sorry to say, by speeches in the American Senate. The debate in the American Senate on this subject began—with the single exception of a brief and calm constitutional discussion by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST]—on the 9th of January, 1899.

Now, let us see what happened. I have in my hand the report of Major-General Otis; and without detaining the Senate at this hour in the afternoon, for I shall have occasion to speak more at length on this subject later, all through that report and through that whole summer are found again and again communications to the Government of the United States that the people of the Philippine Islands desire their independence: that is one thing; that they are a people; so the President calls them; and that is the phrase which the Declaration of Independence uses when it says a people have a right to establish their government in such form as they conceive to be necessary for their safety and happiness. Then Aguinaldo was brought over there to a people 30,000 of whom were in arms as an organized army before he went, and he was placed at the head of that people, who were desiring independence, and furnished with arms by the Government of the United States. That was the condition of things until Manila was surrounded, the Spanish army captured, and the surrender of Manila was effected.

I have here the report—and I have seen the original, and it is from the Navy Department—of two naval officers, which Admiral Dewey certifies under his own hand gives the best account of the condition of things in northern Luzon that is in existence. That is the Admiral's own statement. Those officers made a journey through the island of Luzon in the months of October, November, and I think a few days in December, 1898, just before hostilities broke out, and they report everywhere courts, municipal government, peace and order, the Spanish prisoners kindly treated, schools and churches: that they were received with elegance and hospitality, I will not say such as my friend would receive me with if I went to Indiana, but with a very much more

gracious and generous hospitality than it would be in my humble power to receive him with if he came to Massachusetts.

They report schoolbooks, and report the constant, eager desire of that people for education. I have all the extracts here before me, and here is the summing up. This is the original report which I have got from the Navy Department, and here is George Dewey's certificate, dated December 1, 1898. I am going to ask the Senate to print it:

Special attention is invited to this interesting and carefully prepared report, which in my opinion contains the most complete and reliable information obtainable in regard to the present state of the northern part of Luzon Island.

GEORGE DEWEY.

DECEMBER 1, 1898.

Everywhere a people in better order than is found at this moment, to say nothing of what was found at the time of their revolution, in some countries on the continent of America between the Rio Grande and Cape Horn. (They were a people fitter for self-government than were those of any country on the continent of America from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn when its independence from Spain was achieved, and fitter than some of them are to-day.

Mr. President, it is that which you want to crush out and that from which the American flag is supposed to get new glory if we stamp it out—this young giant of ours in the freshness and the fullness of his strength—and that you call glory!

What happened in regard to this outbreak which was caused by the debate in the United States Senate which began on the 9th of January, 1899? I have General Otis's report here. In December, 1898, the President sent to General Otis a famous proclamation—mark the date, December, 1898—and it contains a statement asserting the sovereignty of the United States over the Philippine Islands and our purpose to give them a good government, but that we must take possession of the entire island and keep them, and so on.

Otis read it and he suppressed the President's statement. He said that that language was calculated to create an immediate outbreak of hostilities. I have his exact language here. I will read it:

After fully considering the President's proclamation and the temper of the Tagalos with whom I was daily discussing political problems and the friendly intentions of the United States Government toward them, I concluded that there were certain words and expressions therein, such as "sovereignty," "right of cession," and those which directed immediate occupation, etc., which, though most admirably employed and tersely expressive of actual conditions, might be advantageously used by the Tagalo war party to incite widespread hostilities among the natives. The ignorant classes—

These fellows, incapable of self-government according to my friend—

had been taught to believe that certain words, as "sovereignty," "protection," etc., had peculiar meaning disastrous to their welfare and significant of future political domination, like that from which they had recently been freed.

Now, Mr. President, I have seen in my youth in Massachusetts—I do not know much about Indiana—ignorant fellows who believed that precise thing here at home, and who are undoubtedly unfit for self-government according to him. There are certain men in Massachusetts, and the woods are full of them, who would think

that if Great Britain or any other nation should come and propose to assume sovereignty and protection and immediate occupation and take possession of Massachusetts, they would be excited and alarmed and would fly to arms, and they would think even that there was a certain glory in giving their lives to prevent that sort of thing from being done.

But whether that be true or not, whether I misunderstand the temper of this great American people, whether I misunderstand what the American flag stands for or not, that is what I thought it stood for. But I dare say I am mistaken in that belief.

At any rate, that is what General Otis said. So he took the most extraordinary responsibility ever assumed by a military commander in regard to his superior's orders, and suppressed President McKinley's proclamation, a proclamation which would, as he says, have created armed hostilities and an outbreak immediately, as it would have been likely to do wherever there is human nature and human feeling and love of liberty.

But he issued a proclamation in its stead, which he gives here. My honorable friend thinks the Filipinos are not fit for self-government, and he says there are only, as I understand it, about a hundred in the island who are. He cites the evidence of a good many employers of labor who say there are a great many more, but that is his summing up of it. General Otis, instead of this proclamation which the President directed him to issue and which he thought would bring on a war, goes on and issues a proclamation in which he promises them independence. That is the next thing that happened in December. Here it is. I shall have occasion to go into this matter more at length when I have more time. I will read one of his sentences:

It is also my belief that it is the intention of the United States Government to draw from the Filipino people so much of the military force of the islands as is possible and consistent with a free and well-constituted government of the country. * * * I am also convinced that it is the intention of the United States Government to seek the establishment of a most liberal government for the islands, in which the people themselves shall have as full representation as the maintenance of law and order will permit, and which shall be susceptible of development, on lines of increased representation and the bestowal of increased powers, into a government as free and independent as is enjoyed by the most favored provinces in the world.

That is what you told those men through your military commander six weeks before the hostilities broke out.

Mr. TELLER. What is the date of that report?

Mr. HOAR. It is dated January 4, 1899. There is the promise. In another statement he says:

I will assure the people of the Philippine Islands the full measure of individual rights and liberties, which is the heritage of a free people.

Now, what does that mean? What does that mean, Mr. President? My honorable friend says we must hold onto those islands forever; that he is a dastard who does not think so. And yet General Otis, whom the honorable Senator as I have no doubt justly eulogized, as the representative of the honor and the justice of the people of the United States, uttered that promise. Did he utter that promise to a people of slaves, half Spaniards and half savages in character? Did he utter that promise to a people incapable of self-government? He sent home his dispatch, and he is in command there now. Now, what happened?

General Otis states that he sent the original proclamation of

the President containing these words, which were sure to bring on an outbreak of hostilities, to General Miller. General Miller was lying with a part of the United States fleet opposite Iloilo, where the Spaniards had been captured and the insurgent forces were in control. He was spoiling for a fight. He was urging Otis all the time to let him make an attack at once, "because," he said, "the insurgents are strengthening themselves every day."

General Otis says that, before having carefully read this proclamation, he incautiously sent a copy of it to Miller, and thereupon Miller, contrary to his desire, made it public, and the Philippine Island people got hold of it as it was originally made. So this document which your great military authority affirmed would bring on instant hostilities if it was published, and which he had taken the liberty to suppress, was published and sent abroad. Then he proceeds to give an account of the effect of the publication. He says:

The publication separated more widely the friendly and war factions of the inhabitants. * * * The ablest of insurgent newspapers, * * * edited by the uncompromising Luna, attacked it with all the vigor of which he was capable. * * * This paper was published in Tagalo; had a considerable circulation. * * * No statement reflecting upon the United States Government * * * was too base, untruthful, or improbable for newspaper circulation.

Was there anything worse for newspaper circulation than substituting a promise of independence for a purpose to take immediate possession, I should like to know?

Aguinaldo met the proclamation by a counter one, in which he indignantly—

I now read from General Otis's report—

in which he indignantly protested against the claim of sovereignty by the United States in the islands which had really been conquered from the Spaniards through the blood and treasure of his countrymen. * * * Even the women of Cavite province * * * gave me to understand that after all the men were killed off they were prepared to shed their patriotic blood for the liberty and independence of their country.

Mr. President, I am proud as any man of the history of the United States. I suppose I feel a special and peculiar pride in the history of my own beloved State of Massachusetts. I have sat at her dear feet, I have looked into her beautiful eyes, I have listened to her high counsel from my earliest childhood. But I should feel prouder still if I could write into her glorious history a statement like that.

Is there any American Senator whose blood is so cold, whose eyes are so blinded by this wretched glitter and glare of empire which Satan is setting before us as he did before the Saviour, that his bosom can not be stirred by such a thing as that, or that he is willing to join in an attempt to trample under foot the liberties of a people like that? Have you read the death song of Rizal? It rises to the loftiest strains. Have you read the state papers of these men—these Filipinos? They will compare favorably with the state papers of any nation on the earth. Have you read their constitution?

Mr. President, I omitted to state one very simple fact given by these naval officers. There came a report into the province where they were being received as guests at the house of the principal magistrate of the village that our commissioners at Paris had rejected the proposition to buy them and had substituted for it

what they did in regard to Cuba; and the commander of the military forces, on that report, which turned out to be a mistake, instantly resigned his authority to the civil magistrates and sheathed his sword.

Mr. BACON. Will the Senator please allow me to inquire if that is the statement made by the naval officers to Admiral Dewey?

Mr. HOAR. It was made by the naval officers. I have it in my desk.

Mr. BACON. I hope the Senator will read it.

Mr. HOAR. Admiral Dewey vouches for it. It would take some time to hunt it up, but I have it here.

Mr. TILLMAN. The Senator from Massachusetts is going to print it in his speech.

Mr. HOAR. I am going to print the whole of it in my speech.

Mr. BACON. I will withdraw the request, then.

Mr. HOAR. It is there. I should like to print also two very brief, clear narratives by the same officers, which appeared in two New York publications, if I may have leave.

I was going to ask, not referring to any Senator—I am referring to some outside statements—is it not a little bold to charge with the responsibility of making this war the men who tried to stop it, who protested against it, instead of the men who made it? There has not been a time from the beginning to this hour when assurances of General Otis, given the 1st of January, 1899, if repeated from Washington, that they should be as independent as the most favored provinces of the world, would not have prevented the outbreak. But although they got that, they got at the same time the true proclamation, which affirmed sovereignty and occupation and the right of cession, and pretty soon after it they got the news that they had been bought like a flock of sheep for \$20,000,000.

The mistake of our honorable friends who disagree with me in this matter is that they do not understand that the God who made of one blood all the nations of the world has made all the nations of the world capable of being influenced by the same sentiments and the same motives, and that the love of liberty does not depend on the color of the skin, but that it depends on humanity. These men are God's children, as you are and as I am, and the men who boast that sublime and lofty parentage have had given them by the Universal Father the love of liberty and the sense of justice.

I had no intention of speaking this afternoon; and I have it not before me, but you will find in these reports that one of the officers makes the exact statement that the Filipinos are exceedingly sensitive to any matter of injustice, and all that they need is to know that they are to be treated with justice and righteousness.

I will ask leave also to print these two articles, which are very brief. I am not sure whether the statement I now refer to is in the magazine article or the report written by the same man.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Chair understand that the Senator has asked consent to print the other paper?

Mr. HOAR. Yes; I ask consent to print the report forwarded by Admiral Dewey and articles in the Outlook and New York Independent by Messrs. Sargent and Wilcox, the two naval officers who made the report.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. COCKRELL. Let them be printed as a separate document.

Mr. HOAR. Very well. I was going to incorporate them in my speech, but I should also like to have them printed as a document.

Mr. COCKRELL. Then I ask that they be printed as a document.

Mr. HOAR. Let them be printed in both forms.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Massachusetts and of the Senator from Missouri that the matter referred to be printed in the RECORD and also as a document? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

[See Appendix.]

Mr. HOAR. Now, Mr. President, my honorable friend thought that saying in a very feeble way such a thing as this in the Senate of the United States tended to excite hostilities in the Philippine Islands. If I understood him correctly, he said also that he thought it was not necessary to wait until we could get the very best of government here, but if we established it abroad under some commissioners to be appointed by some executive authority they would govern so well that they would furnish a good example for us at home and we should improve. I suppose, though he did not say it, that he thinks, also, we had better not have free speech here in the United States Senate until they have got it out among the Filipinos, to see whether it works there, and then it may come back to us in a way which gradually would permit us to use it here, in a sort of diluted form.

Mr. President, the Senator gave us his opinion of General Aguinaldo. Mr. Schurman, the president of the Filipino Commission and of Cornell University, says in a speech made to his students last week that he considers Aguinaldo an honest man. The two testimonials must of course stand side by side or one must fall before the other.

The Senator cites a good many witnesses from whom he concludes that the Filipinos are not capable of self-government, but when he reads the testimony of a great many of them the reason they give is that the lower and uneducated classes will take the advice and act under the influence of their leaders. His witnesses say that the self-government will work all right. But it is because the superior will influence the inferior. I looked around to see whether the Senator from Indiana was likely to have the full assent of my honorable friend the junior Senator from Ohio [Mr. HANNA], or my honorable friend the senior Senator from New York [Mr. PLATT], who happens to be present, to the proposition that it is a sign of absolute unfitness for self-government which justifies us in slaughtering that people and putting them under our heels that the poor ignorant classes are likely to act under the influence of their leaders and follow them. [Laughter.] The late honorable Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Quay] is not present. I trust my honorable friend will not be influenced in his vote on the constitutional question of admitting Senator Quay by any idea that Mr. Quay may possibly be penetrated by that Philippine notion.

Mr. President, I wish to read an extract from a letter which is one of a great many letters I have received. I had one within two days from an eminent general officer thoroughly sympathizing with my position in this matter, a man who came home with a

great and a brave record, but who said that while the excited condition exists he does not want to have his name used and he should say nothing. I have here a letter from a soldier, who says:

I am a returned volunteer who believes the United States is pursuing a wrong course in the Philippines. There are thousands of others, I believe, who, in spite of the noisy receptions, the glamor and glory and medal promises, believe the same way. I promised myself before leaving the islands to enlist another two years if necessary to help bring the Government back to the "humanity" policy stated when it enlisted us to fight. Though a private soldier, my word may weigh little, but I feel it will be a source of pleasure in the future to remember that at this critical period in our history I was spending time and money to help in my humble way to bring the nation back to her old-fashioned ideas of liberty.

I would come to Washington if I could be of any service, but you doubtless have plenty of soldiers and others at hand better capable than myself to answer your questions. I hope you will put up the fight of your life against the Administration's policy. It seems to me you can do a great deal of good by acquainting the people with the real condition of things in the islands, which no one knows better than yourself that they do not get through the papers. The death of General Lawton almost in sight of the church steeples of Manila, in a battle that lasted three hours in taking a town our forces captured several times before, but never before found it so hard to take as this time—this of itself should make sensible people doubt that the war is "just over now." The Army of late has been making a good showing, but Congress should realize that every Filipino under arms there to-day means to have and has sworn to have "liberty or death."

Who was it who used that phrase? Is there a Senator from Virginia here who remembers where that expression came from? The miserable Filipino got hold of it somehow. I rather think on the whole we had better charge this whole bloodshed and slaughter and loss of life and treasure to Patrick Henry. The writer of this letter says Congress should realize that every Filipino under arms there to-day—

believes that down under our commercial greed must still smolder in our hearts a feeling that respects him for this resolution.

Just think of this man, who has been so long in the Philippine Islands, actually so far conspiring with the Filipino insurgent cause that he believes, and says the Filipino believes—those savage barbarians believe of the American people "that down under our commercial greed must still smolder in our hearts a feeling that respects him for this resolution."

We may have been more humane to our prisoners, but our Army has been a greater scourge to their country than the Spanish army in a hundred years. But still they dispute every advance and close in in the wake of every retreat. They are not savages, Senator, as you know, of course. I want to tell you how our regiment changed its mind upon this point. We had been taught (the devil only knows why) that the Filipinos were savages no better than our Indians.

But General Lawton took half my regiment with him on the Santa Cruz expedition. The boys came back with different ideas, denied that they were savages, and confessed they did not want to fight them any more. They had seen in their deserted houses schoolbooks everywhere—grammars, geographies, and arithmetics—well thumbed. They had seen schoolhouses, churches, government buildings, halls of justice, paintings, decorations, and all kinds of handiwork: a city paved, cleaned, and drained, happy in peace and plenty, before they came on their mission of distributing the peace commissioners' proclamation. After this trip neither the "nigger" nor "Indian" talk made them enthusiastic soldiers.

One thing more: The papers announce that the Filipinos are to do honor to General Lawton. This, whether intended or not, puts things in a false light. The fact is, there are a lot of Filipinos working for and hanging on to the Americans because of the big wages they pay, and much of this money is sent through the lines one way or another to help the insurgents. Nine out of every ten of these men are at heart in sympathy with the insurgent cause. The people should know these things.

Pardon me, Senator, for addressing one who must at this time be burdened with correspondence, but I felt I must say a word and tell you one soldier at least respects the American traditions, etc.

I shall have occasion, Mr. President, to discuss this question at some length hereafter. I desire to ask leave to print with my speech an appeal made by Felipe Buencamino, setting forth the desires and aspirations of the Filipino people, addressed to the House of Representatives. I suppose it does not come in regularly as a petition, but I should like to have it to refer to. I wish to have it printed in connection with my speech and also as a document.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Massachusetts desire that it shall be included in the other document or printed as a separate document?

Mr. HOAR. I think it would be well to include it in the other document. I desire to have it printed with my speech and also as a document. I add, also, this letter from Gen. Charles King:

[Gen. Charles King's letter to Milwaukee Journal.]

THE FILIPINOS AS THEY ARE.

SAN FRANCISCO, June 22, 1899.

To the Editor of the Journal, Milwaukee, Wis.

DEAR SIR: Thinking over your telegram and request of June 7, I find myself seriously embarrassed. As an officer of the Army, there are many reasons why I should not give my "views of situation in the Philippines, how long fighting is likely to continue, and thoughts as to America's part in future of islands."

The capability of the Filipinos for self-government can not be doubted. Such men as Arellano, Aguinaldo, and many others whom I might name are highly educated; nine-tenths of the people read and write, all are skilled artisans in one way or another; they are industrious, frugal, temperate, and, given a fair start, could look out for themselves infinitely better than our people imagine. In my opinion they rank far higher than the Cubans or the uneducated negroes to whom we have given the right of suffrage.

Very truly, yours,

CHARLES KING,
Brigadier-General.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there any objection to the request of the Senator from Massachusetts that the paper to which he refers be printed as a part of his speech and also as a document? The Chair hears none. It is so ordered.

[See appendix.]

APPENDIX.

[From The Outlook, September 2, 1899.]

THE BACKWOODS FILIPINO.

[By Leonard R. Sargent.]

It has been my privilege to have been intimately associated with the Filipino people for a short time at a most interesting period of their history. With the permission of Admiral Dewey, I spent the greater part of the months of October and November of 1898, in company with Paymaster W. B. Wilcox, United States Navy, in the interior of the northern part of the island of Luzon.¹ It will be remembered that at that date the United States had not yet announced its policy with regard to the Philippines. The terms of the treaty with Spain were being negotiated by our commissioners at Paris, and the fate of the islands hung in the balance. In the meantime the native population, taking matters into their own hands, had declared their independence from all foreign jurisdiction and had set up a provisional government, with Aguinaldo at its head.

Although this government has never been recognized, and in all probability will go out of existence without recognition, yet it can not be denied that, in a region occupied by many millions of inhabitants, for nearly six

¹ The author of this article, it should be stated, is a naval cadet. The report made by Mr. Sargent and Paymaster Wilcox was regarded by Admiral Dewey as of great value, and the Admiral commended them for "the success of their undertaking, their thoroughness of observation, and the ability shown in their report."—*The Editors.*

months it stood alone between anarchy and order. The military forces of the United States held control only in Manila, with its environs, and in Cavite, and had no authority to proceed further; while in the vast remaining districts the representatives of the only other recognized power on the field were prisoners in the hands of their despised subjects. It was the opinion at Manila during this anomalous period in our Philippine relations, and possibly in the United States as well, that such a state of affairs must breed something akin to anarchy.

I can state unreservedly, however, that Mr. Wilcox and I found the existing conditions to be much at variance with this opinion. During our absence from Manila we traveled more than 600 miles in a very comprehensive circuit through the northern part of the island of Luzon, traversing a characteristic and important district. In this way we visited seven provinces, of which some were under the immediate control of the central government at Malolos, while others were remotely situated, separated from each other and from the seat of government by natural divisions of land, and accessible only by lengthy and arduous travel. As a tribute to the efficiency of Aguinaldo's government and to the law-abiding character of his subjects, I offer the fact that Mr. Wilcox and I pursued our journey throughout in perfect security, and returned to Manila with only the most pleasing recollections of the quiet and orderly life which we found the natives to be leading under the new régime.

Some years ago, at an exposition held at Barcelona, Spain, a man and woman were exhibited as representative types of the inhabitants of Luzon. The man wore a loin cloth and the woman a scanty skirt. It was evident that they belonged to the lowest plane of savagery. I think no deeper wound was ever inflicted upon the pride of the real Filipino population than that caused by this exhibition, the knowledge of which seems to have spread throughout the island. The man and woman, while actually natives of Luzon, were captives from a tribe of wild Igorrotes of the hills: a tribe as hostile to the Filipinos as to the Spaniards themselves, and equally alien to both. It is doubtful to what extent such islanders are responsible for the low esteem in which the Filipino is held; his achievements certainly have never been well advertised, while his shortcomings have been heralded abroad. The actual, everyday Filipino is not as picturesque a creature as the Igorrote. The average human imagination has a remarkable affinity for the picturesque; and the commonplace citizen of Luzon is too often overlooked in the presence of the engrossing savage. If the observer's attention can be drawn to the former, however, much that is of interest will be found in his comparatively homely life.

In our journey we traveled first across the province of Nueva Icija, by far the poorest and least interesting of all the provinces we visited. And yet even here we were greatly surprised by the intelligence and refinement of the inhabitants. While our entertainment at first was meager—for want of the wherewithal to provide a more generous one—we could nevertheless detect the same spirit of hospitality that found vent in elaborate manifestations in the richer towns which we visited later. We were particularly struck by the dignified demeanor of our hosts and by the graceful manner in which they extended to us their welcome. We had unlimited opportunities for conversation with the citizens of the towns, and we found everywhere a class that gave evidence of considerable culture and a certain amount of education. Their education included those branches only which were taught at the schools conducted by the priesthood at the capital towns of the provinces, and was of rather an impracticable nature. The Spanish language, Spanish history (appropriately garbled), church history, and the dead languages evidently formed its leading features.

The natives of this class seemed to have made the most of the opportunities offered them, and they had the subjects above mentioned completely at command. This enabled them to give a trend to their conversation that served at least to indicate their aspirations. On the other hand, their ignorance of modern history and politics, and particularly of current events, was astonishing. What they knew of the United States had been learned, like the Latin, from Spanish teachers, but was not equally reliable. Not only in the backward province of Nueva Icija, but elsewhere throughout our journey, we found the same fund of misinformation on the subject. This related in great measure to the attitude of our Government toward the two races of people that have come under its jurisdiction with an inferior political status, namely, the negroes and the Indians. Of the condition of the negroes since the war, the Filipinos seem not to be aware. They express great curiosity on the subject of the Indian question, and have evidently been taught to see in the unhappy condition of that race the result of deliberate oppression, and a warning of what they may expect from our Government if they submit themselves to its legislation. Of ourselves, the citizens of the United States, they have been told that we possess neither patriotism, honor, religion, nor any other restraining or refining influence. A character has been given us consistent with the acts attributed to our nation. The natives are now undoubtedly becoming enlight-

ened as to our true character, but it will probably be a long time before their last suspicions are removed. In the meanwhile we can not but hope that the good faith of our Government in any proposition it may make to the Filipino people will be accepted in advance. When it becomes a question of our fairness and our honest intentions toward them, the burden of proof must rest on us.

The towns of Nueva Icija are small and unimposing. They are composed principally of "nipa" huts, built on "stilts" to evade the vapors that rise from the marshy ground.

The "stilts" and the frame of the hut are framed of bamboo poles, and an excellent floor is made from long, thin strips of the same wood laid together with their curved surfaces upward. The roof is thatched with grass, and the sides of the hut are formed of leaves of the "nipa" plant plaited together. Screens made of the same material serve in place of windows, sliding back and forth on bamboo guides in front of apertures cut in the walls. A short bamboo ladder gives entrance to the hut, which consists of two rooms, one forward of the other. The front room is raised a step higher than the rear one and is provided with as smooth a floor as possible, to be used principally for sleeping purposes. The back room contains the native stove, the only piece of furniture in the hut. This consists of a section of the trunk of a large tree hollowed out into the form of a bowl and lined with mortar. Many "nipa" huts are far more elaborate, but the one described is of the commonest type and frequently forms the home of a large family.

It will be noticed what an important part the bamboo forms in the construction of these huts. The value of the bamboo tree to the natives of all tropical countries has been too often dilated upon to bear further repetition; but I can not refrain from mentioning one use to which I have seen it put in this province. In the outskirts of one town through which we passed we noticed a number of huts whose owners, having made some attempt at cultivating the land in their immediate vicinity, had built a fence of bamboo to separate their fields from the road. There was nothing particularly remarkable about the fence, except that fences of any kind are not numerous in that country, but we were struck with astonishment on noticing a gate, through which a native had passed, close forcibly behind him without any effort on his part. We proceeded at once to investigate the phenomenon and discovered that the result which had so surprised us had been accomplished by the following unique arrangement: A long bamboo cord had been made fast to the gate and to a point near the top of a bamboo sapling growing in the yard, so that the cord was taut when the gate was shut. The gate opened outward, and could be passed through only by bringing sufficient pressure to bear to bend the sapling. When the pressure was released, the sapling would spring back to its erect position, closing the gate with a slam. With the means at hand a Yankee might well have been at a loss to devise a neater or more effective scheme.

The province of Nueva Icija is low and marshy, and rice is almost the only agricultural product. At the time of our visit the entire population, both male and female, was engaged in the thrashing of rice, which, under their artistic manipulation, becomes a most picturesque proceeding. The implements used resemble, on a large scale, the pestle and mortar of a chemist. The mortar is replaced by a section of a log of hard wood, hollowed out into the shape of a bowl or trough; the pestle by a club about 4 feet long, with ends about 6 inches in diameter and the middle part scraped down to the shape of the hand and worn smooth by constant friction. The rice is thrown into the mortar as it is cut. The club, held in the middle, is raised well above the head in the right hand and cast vertically down upon the rice: caught up with the left hand as it rebounds, thrown again, and caught up with the right.

The workers make an interesting picture, half a dozen of them perhaps beating in the same mortar, their dark skins glistening in the sunlight, and every firm muscle working as their bodies move in the graceful action of their labor. These people are musical by nature, and there undoubtedly is harmony in this rhythmical beating of wood on wood. The sound penetrates to the most distant places and seems never to cease. It comes to you like the beating of a muffled drum, and brings before your mind the supple figures of the native girls casting their clubs in that graceful movement, down with the right hand, up with the left, down with the left hand, up with the right. I only once saw the workmen emphasize the musical element that characterizes this labor. On this occasion a party of four natives, two young men and two young women, were beating at the rice in one long trough, while an old man, sitting near with a musical instrument like a guitar, strummed the time.

In traveling from Nueva Icija into the neighboring province of Nueva Vizcaya, and from there on through the greater part of the latter province, we passed through a rough and mountainous country. Our progress here was deplorably difficult, but the numerous views of magnificent scenery to which we were treated more than repaid us for our labors and hardships. I never before had suspected that Luzon Island contained within its borders

such harmonies in landscape as it has been my good fortune to see. There are spots in the mountains of Nueva Vizcaya from which the aspect of the surrounding country overwhelms an observer with all the power of music and thrills his artistic sense into ecstasy. The deep-rooted prejudice that many men possess against all that is tropical, I think, would disappear in every case under the influence of the clear atmosphere and healthful soil of this beautiful province.

From Nueva Vizcaya for the next three weeks of travel we passed from one hospitable town to another, and enjoyed a round of novel entertainments. Our route now carried us through the valley of the Rio Grande Cagayan—probably the largest area of level country in Luzon Island.

With the exception of the region in the immediate vicinity of Manila, and of the narrow strip of land along the western coast, this valley, previous to the revolution, was the firmest and most ancient seat of Spanish authority on the island. Its towns throughout give evidence of the labor that has been expended on them. There are comparatively few "nipa" huts, and many substantial frame buildings. Each town, moreover, has an elaborate church and convent, usually built of brick. Many of these churches date back into the last century, one which I remember particularly bearing the date 1780 as that of its completion.

Our entertainment in the different towns varied according to the facilities at hand; but in all cases music was a leading feature. In the absence of all accessories the village band would be called into the building in which we were received and would play tune after tune well on into the night, while we conversed at our ease with the village fathers. At the little village of Cordon, which has a population of only a few hundred, we passed one of the pleasantest evenings of our journey. In this instance four accomplished little girls gave the entertainment its particular charm. Soon after our arrival the entire village trooped into the large room of the public building that had been turned over to our party. The floor was cleared for a dance, and the band commenced with a waltz. After the waltz was finished two of the little girls danced a minuet and sang a very pretty dialogue accompaniment. The movement of the minuet was very slow and stately, and the little dancers went through it with charming effect.

As an encore when the minuet was finished, they sang a Spanish love song together. The ages of these little girls were 11 and 12, respectively, and they did not look at all older than their years. They were dressed as grown-up young ladies, however, with their hair elaborately arranged, and with long trains to their cotton gowns. When I asked their mother if this style of dress had been adopted as a masquerade, she said, "Oh, no. I expect both my little girls to be married very soon." After all, some of the customs of the Filipinos are rather picturesque.

After a short rest these girls and two others of about the same age danced the "contrabandista," using castanets. We enjoyed this dance very much. The dancers arranged themselves at starting in the form of a square, and frequently returned to that figure. Passing and repassing each other, twirling unexpectedly about, and posing for an instant, only to resume the rapid step, their tiny, erect figures moved with charming grace and quickness in time with the music, and their castanets kept up a lively accompaniment. When directions were needed, they were received from an old man, who occupied the position of dancing master in the village. A guitar and a flute supplied the only music for the dance. At times even this was dispensed with, and, in its stead, the dancing master sang a plaintive air in his native dialect. The music and dancing continued until we requested an opportunity to rest. On other occasions we have been shown many dances peculiar to the country, and have found that, while they are all graceful and interesting, none are in the least grotesque or barbaric.

The towns of Ilagan and Aparri, with their wealthy and pleasure-loving population, provided the most elaborate entertainment. Ilagan is the capital city of the tobacco-raising province of Isabella, and is situated near the head of navigation of the Rio Grande; Aparri is situated at its mouth, in the province of Cagayan, and is the only seaport of the valley. These towns are laid out in regular streets, and have many squares of substantial frame buildings. They have each a population of between ten and fifteen thousand. We spent three days at Ilagan, and I think that it was here that we were brought into closest touch with the Filipino character. The cultured class, which I have spoken of before, was strongly in evidence; and I think that before leaving we had discussed views with nearly every member of it. They all realized that they were passing through a crucial period in the history of their people, and young and old were eager to acquire all possible knowledge that might assist them to think clearly at this crisis. Their realization of the gravity of their position did not, however, rob their character of its natural gaiety, nor make them forget their duty as hosts. On the evening following our arrival a ball was given in our honor, which was attended by all the élite of the town. There were present about fifty young women and twice that number of men. All were dressed in European fashion. The girls were pleasant and intelligent; the men comported them-

selves in all respects like gentlemen. It was hard to realize that we were in the very heart of a country generally supposed to be given up to semisavages. At intervals between dances many songs were sung, usually by one or two of the guests, while all frequently joined in the chorus. The national hymn was repeated several times with great enthusiasm. The ball lasted until nearly 3 o'clock in the morning, and broke up with good feeling at its height.

On the second evening we were invited to attend the theater, where two one-act Spanish plays were presented by the young society people of the town. The theater itself had been constructed by the villagers only a few weeks before. It was a large bamboo structure, one end of which was used as the village market, while the stage occupied the other end. The stage arrangements were good; curtain, side scenes, and footlights all en règle. In the performance of the play we saw our friends—these typical young Filipinos—in a light in which very few of our nation have had an opportunity to view them. They comported themselves with credit in a position where humor, intelligence, and artistic ability were the requisites of success.

During our stay at Ilagan we lived at the house of the mayor. This building was of great size, and was built of magnificent hard wood from the neighboring forest. One wing, containing a reception room and two bedrooms, was turned over to us. The reception room was very large, with a finely polished floor, and with windows along two sides. It contained a piano and a set of excellent bamboo furniture, including the most comfortable chairs and divans imaginable. There were two tall mirrors on the wall, and a number of old-fashioned pictures and framed paper flowers. In this room our friends gathered in the afternoon and took measures to make the time pass pleasantly for us. Whenever the conversation threatened to lose its animation, there was always some one at hand ready to accede to our host's request to play on the piano or to sing.

There was one form of hospitality which we met both at Ilagan and at Caparri that we would gladly have avoided. I still shudder when I recall the stupendous dinners that were spread before us night after night. The Filipinos pride themselves on their cookery, and it is indeed excellent. There could be no cause for complaint on that score. There is never any suspicion of the greasy and garlicky flavor to the food that characterizes a Spanish meal. Our host at Ilagan employed three cooks, each of whom in turn officiated at the preparation of one of the three dinners which we ate in that town. It is impossible to say which one deserved the palm. The shortest of the three dinners numbered fifteen courses and seemed interminable. In addition to fish, rice, chickens, and other domestic products of the country, there was served game of many sorts, including doves, snipes, deer, mountain buffalo, and boar. It was astonishing how many of the dishes were "conidia del pais," and must be sampled by the visitors to secure a just conception of the Filipino talent in matters of the palate. We felt on leaving the table as if the horn of plenty had been thrust against our lips and its contents to the last crumb forced down our unwilling throats. I notice in my diary an entry made after returning from a dinner in one of the western provinces, where more moderation was displayed, which reads: "We had been in dread of encountering another such feast as those at Ilagan and Aparri, but found, to our great relief, that this meal lasted through only eight courses."

A Filipino dinner is usually served shortly after noon, and is followed by the siesta. The next meal comes about 9 o'clock, but is ordinarily preceded about three hours earlier by light refreshments of chocolate and sweetmeats. The native is very fond of the latter, which he prepares from coconut meat and sugar. His table is always set—at least when guests are present—with a tablecloth and napkins, and the customary supply of knives and forks. He is very temperate in his use of liquor. An alcoholic beverage is made from the sap of the "nipa" plant, and imported wines are served in the houses of the rich in the large towns. None of these are used to excess, however; and I have never seen an intoxicated Filipino.

Throughout the valley of the Rio Grande, as well as the province of Nueva Vizcaya, the wilder regions are inhabited by Igorrotes. These savages are not powerful enough to attack a town of any size, but they are a formidable menace to the smaller villages, and particularly to travelers. Unarmed individuals can not go with impunity from one town to another, but must travel in parties and with an armed escort. For this reason communication between the towns of these provinces is comparatively rare. Many provinces—such as Nueva Vizcaya—are shut off from their neighbors by ranges of mountains, whose passes lie in the Igorrote territory, and are eminently exposed to attack. At certain seasons of the year these attacks become especially numerous, on account, it is said, of the religious ceremonies observed by the Igorrotes. These ceremonies require the presence of human heads; and, accordingly, the whole tribe, moved by a deep feeling of piety, proceeds, with its armament of arrows and lances, to waylay whatever unhappy Filipinos may come within reach. One of these seasons of religious manifestation lasts nine days. It had become so notorious, and had cost so many lives, that a few years ago a law was passed prohibiting travel on certain roads between prescribed dates.

Many tribes of Igorrotes have been brought partly within the pale of civilization, principally in the western provinces. These tribes, in their semi-civilized state, are called Trugmanes. They live in primitive villages, and are presided over by leaders chosen from their own tribe. I have seen many of these people. The chiefs dress in Filipino garb, with cotton trousers, and a shirt falling outside of all. The chief is always seen carrying his staff of office—a gold-headed cane. The tribesmen wear only loin cloths. They are finely-built and very powerful men.

The dangers incident to travel have had much to do with the confusion of dialects that prevails on the island, and this confusion is consequently more marked in the eastern than in the western provinces. The educated class of Filipinos can speak two languages that are universal throughout the island in their own class; these are Spanish and Tegalogue. The ignorant natives, on the other hand, have only their own provincial dialect. These dialects are so different one from another that they must be separately studied to be understood. Dictionaries of many of them have been made by the Jesuit priests. Through the servants of our party, we had at command five dialects in addition to the Spanish and Tegalogue, yet in passing through one province we failed utterly to make ourselves understood by a native whom we accosted, although we plied him patiently with these seven languages.

There is but one individual who seems never to be daunted by the obstacles and dangers that separate him from the province toward which he sees fit to direct his footsteps. I refer to the Chinaman. In almost every village we visited we found at least one of that race; and in the larger towns there were many. They are the merchants of the island, presiding over every shop, and drawing money from every village. They are deeply hated by the Filipinos, and were the object of a strict emigration law under the administration of Aguinaldo's provisional government.

The steamer *Oslo*, which took our party from Aparri, brought to that port a number of Chinese immigrants, destined in the greater part for Manila. The supercargo, however, desired to leave 50 of them at Aparri, and offered the governor of that place \$50 per head for that number if he would permit them to land. His offer was promptly refused.

Our party proceeded on the *Oslo* from Aparri around the northwestern corner of the island and landed on the coast near the northern end of the province of South Ilocos. From here we proceeded by land southward through the western provinces. During this part of our journey we were thrown into closer association than previously with the military element of the population, of which I hope to have an opportunity to speak further in a subsequent article.

The towns on the western coast are even larger than those on the Rio Grande. Vigan, the capital of South Ilocos, has a population of about 28,000, and Candon, farther to the southward, is not far behind this figure. The mayor of Candon was of the hustler type, and was evidently on the outlook for an opportunity to "boom" his town. On our departure he presented us with a written description of its exceptionally desirable location from a business standpoint. Every town gave evidence of the bitter fighting that had taken place between the natives and the Spaniards; many of the larger buildings, which had been used for defense, being riddled with bullet holes.

We no longer passed from town to town through unsettled stretches of country. The fields on both sides of the road were under cultivation and were dotted with laborers, while on the road itself there were always many travelers. The laborers in the fields worked in the shade of large screens of nipa leaves, which they carried with them from place to place.

Many of the travelers we passed were women. To give freedom to their limbs in walking, the skirts of their dresses were so arranged that the rear end could be drawn up between the knees and tucked into the belt in front, leaving the legs bare from the knees down. Their graceful carriage, which never failed to elicit our admiration, is due, to a great extent, I think, to their custom of carrying burdens upon their heads. This method of transportation has become a second nature to them, and is applied to articles of all descriptions. I have seen a native woman, with her hands swinging freely at her sides, walk briskly along with a pint bottle of gin balanced carelessly upon her head. On the other hand, their loads are often of great weight and towering height.

The Filipino maidens of high degree do not differ from their laboring sisters in the matter of graceful carriage. Many of them are pleasing in feature as well. Their education, however, seems to be responsible for a lack of vivacity, at least in their conversation with young men. They have evidently been taught to appear as cold and distant as possible in such society. On one point only they are always ready to meet you on terms of friendly equality; and that is when you make bold to suggest a smoke. They are always glad to accept a cigarette or small cigar, and if you are not prompt in offering one in all probability will produce one from their own supply and ask your permission to light it. This habit quickly ceases to attract your notice, except under unusual circumstances. At a town in Isabella my attention was drawn

to a number of young girls returning from their first communion. They were clothed in dresses of pure white, and long veils hung chastely down below their shoulders.

I drank in the details of the picture with delight until I came to the thick haze that overhung it. Through the meshes of each veil a tube of tobacco was thrust, and every pair of dainty lips gave its continual contribution to the cloud of smoke that dwelt around the little group like a halo of universal sanction.

The men whom we met in the western provinces—our hosts at the different towns—possessed in general the same characteristics that we had observed in their countrymen farther to the eastward. We noticed, however, a marked difference between the inhabitants of the two districts in the matter of the prevailing religious sentiment. Throughout the valley of the Rio Grande the ordinary ceremonies of worship were almost entirely suspended for want of persons ordained to conduct them.

In Ilocos and Union, however, natives had been promptly placed in the sacred offices left vacant by the imprisonment of the Spanish priests; and at the time of our visit they were conducting all the services of the church. Freedom of thought marked the views of every Filipino that I have heard express himself on the subject of religion, and although I certainly have met devout Catholics among them, I judge that that church, on account of the abuses with which it has been associated on the island, has failed on the whole to secure an exclusive hold on the minds of the natives.

In speaking of the Filipino people, I have had reference throughout principally to one class of their society, which I have called the cultured class. If my observations of that class are just, however, I think that inferences can safely be drawn from them that extend their application over the entire Tagalog population. The great mass of this population has been kept in an unenlightened state by deliberate legislation which has effectually deprived them of every possible opportunity for advancement. Those who have acquired education have acquired it at an extravagant cost that has placed it hopelessly beyond the reach of all but the wealthy. There are few, if any, among that number, however, who, while possessing the price of a schooling, have neglected to apply it to that end. I can not see what better gauge we can obtain at present of the intelligence and ambition of the whole Filipino race than the progress that has been made by its favored members with the limited opportunities at their command. Throughout the island a thirst for knowledge is manifested and an extravagant respect for those who possess it.

I have seen a private native citizen in a town in the interior exercise a more powerful influence than all the native officials over the minds of the inhabitants, simply because he was known to have been educated in the best schools at Manila, and was regarded for that reason as a superior man. The heroes of these people are not heroes of war, but of science and invention. Without rival, the American who is best known by reputation in Luzon is Mr. Edison, and any native with the slightest pretension to education whom you may question on the subject will take delight in reciting a list of his achievements. The ruling Filipinos, during the existence of their provisional government, appreciated the necessity of providing public schools to be accessible to the poorest inhabitants. Had events so shaped themselves as to have provided an opportunity for carrying into effect the plans formed on this point, it seems possible that the mental plane of the entire population might have been raised gradually to a surprising height.

Out of respect to the statements of other people which the narrative of my experience may seem to contradict, I wish to say that I have found the native of the interior of Luzon an astonishingly different character from the one ordinarily met in Manila. Previous to my journey, I regarded those whom I had encountered in that city with great dislike, and after my return I was unable to overcome that feeling. They are not a fair sample of the race; and I can not expect anyone who has formed his judgment on the subject merely from observations of that type to express an opinion similar to mine, as recorded above.

[From The Outlook, September 23, 1899.]

THE MILITARY FILIPINO.¹

[By Leonard R. Sargent.]

The provisional government which assumed control of Filipino affairs in Luzon Island after the downfall of the Spanish power was a military one.

¹ See the article on "The backwoods Filipino," by Mr. Sargent, in The Outlook of September 2. The author, it will be remembered, is a naval cadet who spent the greater part of the months of October and November of 1898, in company with Paymaster W. B. Wilcox, U. S. N., in the interior of the northern part of the island of Luzon.

The president of the so-called republic was general of the army and had at his command all the forces of the state, while military officers filled the high positions throughout the provinces. It was continually asserted by those in power that this disposition of the control of affairs had been resorted to merely to tide over the existing emergency and that it should continue only until the establishment of a permanent peace. As long as it remained in force, however, the concentration of power was absolute, and, moreover, no change of government could be contemplated without the cooperation of the controlling class. In the event of peace the population hoped to see the reins of government placed in their hands, but if opposition were offered, they certainly had not the power to seize them. The military class controlled the situation, and with it, in great measure, the destiny of the people. Accordingly as they were actuated by motives of patriotism or of personal ambition they could, if unmolested, inaugurate a just and liberal government or they could set upon the galled shoulders of their race a yoke as cruel as that they had just cast off.

It will never be known how they would have stood this crucial test. The peace they had anticipated is further from them now than ever, and it has been decreed that a stronger power should relieve them of the responsibility of the vital decision. Yet they have not been deprived of importance. They still retain the official voice of their people, and it is with them that our nation is now at war. In view of their preeminent position in Luzon affairs, past, present, and future, some interest must attach to every observation of their character, especially to such as tend to show to what extent they represent the feelings and aspirations of the great mass of the Filipino population, and in what measure they have at heart the truest interests of their race.

The leaders of the military element have been drawn, almost without exception, from the younger generation of that enlightened class of Filipinos, of which I have spoken in a previous article as existing everywhere throughout Luzon Island. They possess, of course, many qualities in common with their older kinsfolk, in whose charge they have been reared; and yet they differ from them so significantly on many points as to deserve particular attention. The characters of men are not set to such rigid lines as to remain unchanged by the sudden attainment of authority, and the Filipino, like his brother of every other land, assumes a new demeanor with his uniform of office.

Throughout the period of my association with both classes I found the distinction apparent between civilians and military officers. Had Mr. Wilcox and I been provided for our journey with the customary credentials required of travelers in that country many of the evidences of this difference which came to our notice would have been missing. Starting without passports, however (in fact, after having been refused them by Aguinaldo), our status was such as to invite all possible arrogance on the part of the officials, while throwing the most favorable light upon the open hospitality of the citizens. Under the circumstances I am inclined to think that there was a surprising lack of arrogance in the attitude which the officials assumed toward us. Yet there was a dignity in their bearing, and in some cases a coldness, caused by their suspicions of the motive of our journey, which were entirely lacking in their civilian countrymen. "Armor is heavy, but it is a proud burden, and a man standeth straight in it." So these young Filipinos, vested with the authority of their office and supporting the responsibility of their duty toward the state, assumed a manlier and more independent bearing than the genial and conciliatory one of the older men.

In the opposition which they frequently offered to our plans we found much that was inconvenient, but nothing that was unreasonable from their point of view. We found them hard to cajole, or to "bluff," or to move by any means other than a fair and open statement which they could clearly understand. Before the end of the journey we came to regard the military Filipino as the only stumbling block to our progress. And yet, in spite of the annoyance he caused us and of the frequent changes in our itinerary induced by his persistent opposition, we learned to admire him far beyond his simpler and more amiable countrymen.

It could easily be seen that we did not control a monopoly of the admiration expended on this subject. The older men looked with manifest pride on the evidences of the firm purpose and quick decision of their sons and nephews, even while endeavoring, in many instances, to mollify the rigor of their methods; and the young officers themselves evinced great complacency when they dwelt upon the subject of their past achievements in the field and of the efficiency of their subsequent administration of affairs. The experience through which they had passed had imparted to their character a respect for their own ability and confidence in their own resources that is woefully lacking in the untried Filipino.

Prior to my departure from Manila I had witnessed many examples of this deficiency in the national character, and had considered them of con-

siderable significance. I remember on one occasion having observed a native coachman whose carriage had been overturned by a collision stand helplessly in the road regarding the wreck with an expression of utter despair, while he wrung his hands together and repeated in tones of the most agonized self-pity the expression, "Pobre Filipino! Pobre Filipino!" He was still in this attitude when an American soldier near by took the matter in hand, and in a very short time had the horse on his feet, the carriage right side up, and the harness readjusted. I thought at the time that if the Filipino race possessed no more stamina than that displayed by this coachman and no more readiness and resource to assist them in confronting unforeseen situations they would be indeed fortunate to have always at hand the ready support of a stronger power.

I was not aware of the hardening effect upon the national character of the events even then occurring, and did not guess that the identical qualities whose absence I had noticed were being rapidly inculcated by the first phases of that experience to whose success I had considered their presence indispensable.

Other qualities than these, moreover, are wakening from a dormant state. Prior to the advent of the great incentive in his life that came with the revolution, the native displayed, in all his undertakings, but little endurance and less perseverance. His existence was so ordered that no permanent good could come to him or to his family from even the most continued endeavor, and he labored, therefore, for some temporary emolument only. He never had at stake a prize really worth the winning, and there was nothing within his horizon that appealed to him as deserving of as much attention as his own physical comfort.

It was this that he considered first when set to any task, and he refused always to work under a strain. He recognized the limit to his powers within which he could work at ease, and, if forced beyond this limit, he promptly "threw up the sponge." In our party, at one time, among the number of our packmen were several old natives whom we had picked up at a little inland town. They belonged to the "ante-bellum" type of Filipino, and seemed scarcely cognizant of recent events. One day, toward nightfall, noticing that one of these packmen was missing, we sent back over the trail to ascertain what had become of him. He was found about 5 miles in the rear resting by the roadside, the picture of ease and indifference. In answer to our indignant inquiries, he merely replied that he had felt tired and had stopped to rest. When ordered to proceed, and threatened with punishment if he loitered, he made the distance to camp in good time. It had not been a case of exhaustion or of physical inability, but merely of an inconvenient weariness and an entire absence of grit. Such was the old, purposeless, unawakened Filipino, and he bears a marked contrast to the vigorous and enthusiastic young insurgent soldier, whose every energy is at the service of the cause he has espoused, and who has endured every hardship and braved every danger in its support.

We heard many tales, and were in a position to authenticate them to a great extent, of deeds that told in glowing terms of the endurance and courage the Filipinos could display when impelled by a sufficient motive. The revolution in Luzon Island was by no means a simultaneous uprising of the population, and in its early stages the force that opposed the Spanish power was not overwhelming in its numbers. In the provinces far in the interior particularly the earlier encounters found the advantage in the hands of the Spaniards, whose opponents were but small bands of the most daring and desperate natives of the vicinity, poorly armed and entirely without organization or discipline. Yet these pioneers of rebellion did win brilliant and surprising victories, and, by their success, encouraged their more timid neighbors to join their fortunes to the cause.

In a district embracing the capital city of Nueva Vizcaya, a band of 20 Filipinos were for several days the only natives in open rebellion, and they conducted hostilities unaided against a force of Spaniards of ten times their number. The Spanish commander, alarmed at the signs of discontent among the population, undertook to proceed with his troops to a neighboring town possessing stronger defenses. He was ambushed three separate times on the march by the little band of rebels, and suffered a large loss. Recruits immediately swelled the ranks of the insurgents, and before the week was out the entire province was in their hands. The leader of the gallant little band of patriots, Lieutenant Navarro, is one of the very few officers whom I have met who represent the more ignorant class of the population. He could not speak Spanish, nor read nor write his own language, and on that account, at the time of our visit, had not risen above the rank of lieutenant.

In many of the provinces the revolution received its start from detachments of Aguinaldo's expeditionary forces, which were sent across the island from the more populous districts on the western coast. These detachments—in some cases mere squads—performed most remarkable service.

They traveled through the wildest parts of the island to reach their destination, and, arriving there, were forced to depend, for the support of the

natives, upon the success of their own first operations against the superior force of the enemy. Of these expeditions, one of the most noteworthy was that sent from North Ilocos overland to Cagayan. The mountains lying between these provinces are generally considered impassable on account of the absence of beaten paths and of the presence of one of the most formidable tribes of Igorrotes on the island. The expeditionary force, however—about forty strong—succeeded in accomplishing the journey after five days of constant effort and hardships, and arrived at Aparri in an exhausted condition, but with undaunted spirit.

The Filipinos have a national weapon with which they claim to have won their independence from Spain. This is the bola or native knife. It is used in times of peace for all conceivable purposes, and through constant practice is handled with the utmost dexterity. It is as much a part of the Filipino of the provinces as a jackknife was of the old-time sailor. When traveling even for very short distances, or when working where the bola is likely to be of service, the native carries it slung on his belt and shoved around behind him, so as not to interfere with his movements. It has no definitely fixed size or shape, but the commonest type applied to the purposes of war is about 2½ feet long, including the handle, and has a broad, thick blade, with the weight and edge of a guillotine. The effect of such a weapon in hands thoroughly trained in its use can be imagined. At the time of our journey the Filipinos had absolute confidence in it, and claimed that no other weapon could withstand it. When wielded in the mad fury of a charge, its effects were certainly terrible. Not only were heads shorn off at a stroke, but bodies were severed through the trunk from shoulder to hip; and rifles held in a position of defense were cut through the barrels and the skulls beneath were split down to the chin. The native officers relied almost entirely upon these "bola charges" for the defeat of their Spanish foes. When the call to charge was sounded, the entire force, including the highest officers, discarded all other weapons and charged the enemy, bola in hand.

After the successful termination of the rebellion, all the insurgent officers provided themselves with sabers and revolvers from the supply captured from the Spaniards, and wore them with great satisfaction. As far as concerned their use in warfare, however, they regarded them with contempt, and asserted the superiority of the bola. I could not but admit that even our own soldiers would have but little chance in a hand-to-hand encounter, without firearms, with an equal number of natives armed with their favorite weapon; but I was also well aware that with revolvers they could defeat a large attacking party. I argued the point unavailingly with Aguinaldo's officers, however, and only succeeded in tainting my own reputation for veracity by relating the following incident in support of my assertions:

An American soldier on guard duty in Manila was suddenly attacked and struck to the ground by a Filipino desperado, who then took to his heels. The soldier, without attempting to rise, drew his revolver and emptied the chambers at the fleeing figure. When the native's body was examined all the bullets expended were accounted for; one had shattered his ankle, another was imbedded in his thigh, three were responsible for wounds in the trunk, and the sixth had pierced his skull. This was an actual occurrence, and I believe that the Filipino soldiery could now be easily convinced of its truth when supported by other evidences of good marksmanship that have undoubtedly come to their notice. The reason for their original incredulity could easily be understood, however, after an examination of the revolvers with which they were provided. These were miserable imitations of the Smith & Wesson revolver, and bore on the back of the barrel the name of the makers, garbled into "Smit & Wilson." No part of their action was perfected; the cartridge frequently failed to come in line with the hammer, and 50 per cent is a fair estimate of the misfires.

At the time of our journey the patriotic enthusiasm of the population was everywhere at its height. The boast of every inhabitant was the national army whose organization was then being rapidly perfected. Commissions were eagerly sought by the young men of the higher class, and there were more volunteers for service in the ranks than could be armed or uniformed.

It was universally asserted that every preparation should be made to defend the newly won independence of the island against all foreign aggression. The older Filipinos, especially those of wealth and influence, declared their desire to give every support in their power to the cause, and were as much a part of the warlike movement as those who actually took up arms. The great majority of the latter, both officers and enlisted men, were extremely young. I have met a brigadier-general of 21 years of age, many captains of 18, and lieutenants of 15 and 16. Captain Natioidad, a particularly young officer of that rank and a member of a prominent Luzon family, explained that it was the aim of his government to rest its defense in the field in the hands of those of its supporters who were at that age that is most forcibly swayed by the love of military glory. For the desperate encounters

that might await its army in the future it desired that sort of valor of which discretion is not the better part.

That the civil power should be placed in the same hands was a dangerous experiment, but at the same time a necessary one. The first object of the Filipinos had been to win their independence; the next was to defend it. For both these purposes they had need of their best fighting material, and the selection was made accordingly. The result proved more fortunate than there had been any reason to hope. While exercising absolute authority throughout the island and governing entirely by military law, the leaders of the army appeared, nevertheless, to endeavor to mete out justice to all classes alike. They continued, moreover, to assert their intention to relinquish their temporary power when the establishment of a permanent peace should make such a step possible, and gave most encouraging proofs of the good faith with which they spoke.

A tendency was apparent in many individual instances to treat the entire civilian population with contempt, and the lower element of it with oppression and abuse. In one or two districts through which we passed this spirit was particularly marked, but it was not countenanced as a rule, and had been made the subject of a special order from the authorities at Malolos. On the whole, as far as I could judge, the tendency was upward. The young officers displayed an earnest desire to improve their minds for the benefit of the State, and seemed to be impelled by the ambition to prove themselves worthy of the trust that had been confided in them.

I passed one evening about the middle of last November in the "Comandancia" at San Fernando, in the province of Union, where were quartered over forty officers belonging either to companies stationed at the town or to the staff of General Fiña, the commander of the northwestern district. Our conversation was confined, as usual, to a great extent to professional subjects; but I remember the visit particularly on account of the presence of a number of Spanish text-books on infantry tactics which were distributed among the officers and were evidently in almost constant service. * * * How many of these eager young students of the rudiments of military science have since learned the final lesson of war?

[From *The Independent*, September 14, 1899.]

IN THE HEART OF LUZON.

[By Paymaster W. B. Wilcox, United States Navy.]

No doubt it is a misfortune that the Filipino does not understand American valor, and I dare say it is equally unpleasant that the average American does not know the true character of the natives of the Philippine Islands. Diplomacy could do much, and justice as we claim for ourselves could do more.

I was fortunate in being allowed by Admiral Dewey to make a long journey through the Island of Luzon; in fact, I covered the whole northern portion from Manila to Aparri with the then Naval Cadet Sargent, and in no country have I been treated with more kindly hospitality.

We started with eight horses and five servants and came to Bayambang, where we spent Sunday at the house of Mr. Clark, an Englishman, and were entertained in a thoroughly English country gentleman's way. The next day we limbered up and made the first stage to Rosales and pitched our tents on the bank of the Rio Aritao. That evening the presidente local sent a man to invite us to the convento, but I said we were settled for the night, our horses tethered, and prepared to remain until next morning. We rode into this town and were received with the band playing and given a most welcome reception. Soon after we saddled up and proceeded to the next stage. The towns passed were all in gala attire, having known from couriers that we were coming. Nothing occurred until the journey from San Jose to Puncan was undertaken, and that was almost the hardest of the whole trip. Horses were of no use, we engaged bagadores to carry our outfit, and I must say if we could have traveled as fast as these men, with packs of nearly 70 pounds each, in the driving rain, we would have reached Puncan early in the afternoon. But horses can not compete with muscular men in the long run. Arriving at the river Carranglan, swollen from heavy rains, our men said it was impossible to cross; but Mr. Sargent plunged his horse into the raging stream and reached the other bank. The natives followed. I was left as the only one. We had brought several hundred fathoms of small rope for just such purposes, and I suggested tying this to a tree and bringing the end to me to tie around my waist, and thus swim over the stream. The current was running 6 miles an hour. The plan was partly carried out, but in bringing the rope across the line parted, and Sargent, who had the end, went under the stream and we never expected to see him again. Finally I got over. In all towns the best the Filipinos had was given us and not a cent would be accepted in payment.

From Puncan the next important stop was at the river Carranglan, which was roaring so hard it made it impossible to cross at night, and we pitched our tents on the bank. The major-domo of the party said there were numerous caymans (alligators) and they would crawl up and eat us and our horses some time during the night. So he kept firing guns and was awake all night. He could imagine the 30-foot alligator walking away with a horse and a tent and all contents, though we had about forty men all told and many guns.

Passing over much that occurred, we reached the foot of the Carabello Mountains, which began the hardest of all the journey.

After many weary hours I, who was carrying 220 pounds, finally reached the summit at the altitude of 3,000 feet.

On reaching Aritao the presidente local put us up in an old convent and his band serenaded us at night, and in the morning everywhere the same generous kindness was shown. Our next stop was at Bambang, where the nephew of Aguinaldo met us some distance out of town, guns firing and convent bells ringing. In the evening a fine orchestra was stationed in the hall and lulled two sleepy Americans to rest in sweetest strains, for almost all Filipinos can play some sort of music. In leaving this spot we were accompanied by soldiers as usual, and by Aguinaldo himself, to Bayombong, capital of the province of Nueva Vizcaya. I was met at the bank of the river by the presidente local, and we rode into town amid flags flying and the band playing and were taken to the municipal building. In this far-away town of Luzon I met the most intelligent man, a lawyer by profession, an educated man, and his theory of the future of his country appealed to me as quite the proper solution; what he wanted was free public schools in every village and town, where English would be taught and where the children would soon have wiped out from their curriculum all the Spanish form of government and all the Spanish customs that have brought devastation to their homes; as prostituting all the virtues of a people who want their homes protected and to live in quietness and peace where their daily earnings will not be filched from them by the ingenious methods only known to the *hidalgo Español* and the man whom he employs for purpose of the basest robbery.

From this place our next important stop was Iligan, the capital of the province of Isabella, where millions of dollars come in annually to purchase the product of tobacco which is grown in this, perhaps the most fertile province in the whole of Luzon.

On our first night in this inland capital we were given a dance at which fifty well-dressed young ladies and the same number of gentlemen attended. I was sorry, indeed, I had not my dress suit. One young lady with whom I danced had a splendid gown of rare silk handsomely embroidered, and she danced, I confess, better than I; she was a fine player on the piano and sang many songs for us. The next night a theater was given, and the players were quite as good as in some shows in a more pretentious country.

From Aparri we took steamer to the west coast, and then by horse and various other means made our way to Dagupan and Manila, after a month and a half of most delightful experiences.

The resources of the country can hardly be estimated, but it must have peace and, still more important, transportation, railroads, and means of getting the product of the soil to ready market.

Public schools will do more for the civilization of the island of Luzon than bayonets, and in a few years the Filipino children, who are now most anxious to learn the English language, will be the producers of shiploads of products of the most fertile soil in a tropical latitude and make an empire in the Orient of which not only ourselves but the Filipino will be justly proud.

We must first destroy all vestige of the Spanish ideas and have one language for all the island. As it is now a man of one province can not understand the language of his neighbor, living across the line within a few hundred yards.

When the Filipino can see the benefit of honorable treatment and that justice will be dispensed without favor, he will come into the fold and be a citizen not to be ashamed of.

IN AGUINALDO'S REALM.

[By Ensign L. R. Sargent, United States Navy.]

In the early part of October, 1898, Paymaster Wilcox, United States Navy, and I obtained from Admiral Dewey leave of absence from our duties on board the U. S. S. *Monadnock* for the purpose of making a tour of observation through the northern part of the island of Luzon. Our original plans were of a very indefinite nature, being merely to proceed as far to the northward as the character of the country and the attitude of the natives would permit and to return only when forced to do so. The existing ignorance of the conditions prevailing in the interior gave rise to a very exaggerated idea of the difficulties of such a journey.

Had it been suggested at any time prior to our departure that we could

cover the ground as completely as we eventually succeeded in doing, we should have scouted the idea as preposterous. Suggestions of this nature were, however, conspicuous by their absence, while prophecies of an early failure and an ignominious return were numerous. As the few days that we could devote to our preparations passed and we found ourselves coming face to face with the difficulties of our undertaking, these gloomy prophecies certainly forced an echo from our own hearts.

The first material obstacle that we encountered was the refusal of Aguinaldo to provide us with passports. These, we had reason to believe, were a sine qua non of peaceful travel through the island, officers of our Army whose duties carried them beyond our own lines having been repeatedly turned back for want of them. Mr. Wilcox, with the outfit, servants, and horses, proceeded to Bayambang, a town near the northern terminus of the railroad, where he was entertained by Mr. Donald Clark, a hospitable Englishman, while I spent two days at Malolos petitioning Aguinaldo for a more favorable answer. The Filipino president remained firm, however. He expressed great friendliness, and readily gave his consent to our journey, refusing only to provide written passports, without which we should be, of course, as defenseless against the opposition of his officers as the most unwarranted trespassers. It was evident that he preferred that we should remain at home. When I joined Mr. Wilcox at Bayambang we talked the matter over and came to the conclusion that we held anything but a strong hand. We decided, therefore, to adopt that method of play by which alone it is possible to win on a poor one. Leaving Bayambang at daybreak next morning, we accordingly proceeded by the main traveled road on the first stage of our journey.

This road led us almost due east through the low and marshy province of Nueva Ecija. The rainy season at this time was at its height, and for seven days we scarcely saw the sun. Almost from the start we found the mud so deep that it was impossible to ride the horses through it. Leading them by their bridles, we struggled on on foot until men and beasts were exhausted, covering in this way only 10 or 12 miles a day. Even with the sun covered the heat was excessive, and members of the party were frequently prostrated by that and the exertion combined. Two of our servants proved too old to stand the strain and were sent back, a fate which befell two of our horses also. We soon recruited our party to its original strength, however. Pack horses were quickly abandoned in favor of natives, who accompanied us from town to town, carrying our luggage divided among them on their backs. For the tremendous labor which these men performed they considered 10 cents a day ample pay. This amount seems still more ridiculously small when you consider that the men were usually discharged a full day's travel distance from their homes. As we proceeded the road grew worse, until finally at San José it dwindled to a soggy bridle path. Just beyond San José the province of Nueva Ecija joins that of Nueva Viscaya, the division between them being marked by a range of mountains. The natives along the route had informed us that this range was impassable, even to natives, during that season of the year, and this statement received decided indorsement at San José. It was not with any great hope of success, therefore, but with a determination to carry the attempt as far as possible that we set out from San José. We had difficulty in obtaining men for this stage of the journey, but succeeded finally, by offering considerable inducements, in engaging ten men and a guide. We found that the difficulties in this case had been very little exaggerated. Many times our progress seemed effectually checked. The continuous rains of the past week had swollen every one of the innumerable mountain streams until its passage had become a problem. This stage of not over 30 miles as the crow flies occupied three days of ten working hours each. The trail was extremely intricate. Our guide was a native of the district and had often made the journey (though never at that season of the year), yet he lost the way three times, and had great difficulty in finding it again. Here, for the first time, we heard fear expressed by members of our party of an attack by the Igorrotes, or savages of the hills; a possibility which afterwards came to form an important part in all our calculations. We also became acquainted with the native terror of the alligators which infest the streams, and, in a lower degree, of the serpents occasionally met in the forests.

Upon reaching the town of Carranglan, on the other side of the mountains in the province of Nueva Viscaya, we took a day to dry our outfit and to recuperate. Our diet during the past three days had been cold boiled rice and hard-tack, and our rest at night had been on the wet ground with practically no protection from the violent rain. In that climate hardships can not be endured with impunity, and every man of the party, native as well as American, showed the effect of this treatment. Fortunately, however, the traveling from this point on became easier, and we were able, even in our somewhat weakened condition, to travel at a more rapid pace than previously. Our arrival at Carranglan marked the end of one distinct stage of our journey, and our departure therefrom marked the beginning of a second.

Up to this time the obstacles encountered had been natural ones—bad roads and swollen rivers. The province of Nueva Ecija is an important one from a military standpoint. Its towns at that time were garrisoned by small squads of soldiers, commanded by noncommissioned officers, and we met no one who felt it incumbent upon himself to make any determined opposition to our progress, although many expressed surprise at our lack of the customary passports. From Carranglan on through the province of Nueva Vizcaya we met with more varying fortunes, experiencing the coldest suspicion as well as the most demonstrative hospitality, being greeted at one town by the ringing of church bells and the music of the band and at the next by the critical cross-questioning of the local authorities. At Bayombong, the capital of the province, we were stopped for several hours by the military officer stationed there. After ridiculing the whole idea of passports, and giving this officer some good advice on the manner of conducting a republican form of government, we succeeded in obtaining his permission to proceed.

At an elevation of four or five hundred meters above the sea level, with firm roads and a cordial sun, traveling became the greatest of pleasures. No matter what the attitude of the military officers in the different towns might be, we were invariably made welcome by the citizens.

The larger towns at which we spent the night gave balls in our honor, while the smaller ones, with the village band and native dancing, gave what entertainment they could improvise—often the most enjoyable. While the towns of this province are larger and more pretentious than those of Nueva Ecija, they are situated farther apart and are more completely isolated one from another. The forests between are inhabited by tribes of Igorrotes, who are a constant menace to travelers. On one road over which we passed a party of 20 Filipinos had been murdered to a man only a few days before our arrival. The character of the country offers every opportunity for such savage attack, the trail frequently leading through thick forests or plains of rank grass meeting overhead. Although we considered our party strong enough for its own protection, we were usually provided with an escort of Filipino soldiers.

Frequently we were joined by natives who had been awaiting an opportunity to go from one town to another in safety, bringing the number of our party at one time up to forty-seven. Often from the high points on the road we could see the smoke of at least one Igorrote camp fire, frequently within a few miles of a large Filipino town. There can hardly be any direct method of attack against these savages, since they build no villages and have a vast wilderness for refuge; but at the time of our visit the Filipinos had already begun to build small forts at the points most frequently subject to their menaces—a step in advance of any the Spaniards had taken.

At the town of Carig, near the frontier of the province of Isabella, we encountered Major Villa, the military governor of the province, who had been sent from his capital city by his superior officer, Colonel Tirona, the commander of the northeastern military district, to demand our passports, and, if we did not have them, to examine into the purpose of our expedition. In carrying out his orders this officer kept us for seven days quartered in a deserted convent in this miserable village. At the end of that time, by the permission of Colonel Tirona, with whom we had succeeded in opening direct communication, we were allowed to proceed.

A few miles from Carig we reached the Rio Grande de Cagayan, down which we descended in canoes to its mouth. We spent two days at Iligan, the capital of the province of Isabella, and three at Aparri, the only seaport on the northern coast of the island, towns having a population of about 15,000 each. We were extremely well entertained. At Iligan a large ball was given in our honor, and two Spanish operas were presented by the young people of the town. From this performance we received most pleasing proof of the humor, intelligence, and refinement of our entertainers.

At the towns we had previously visited we had occasionally seen numerous Spanish prisoners, all of whom were apparently enjoying full liberty within the limits of the town. At Iligan we saw Spanish soldiers and ex-civil officials in the same status; but the priests had been differently dealt with; they were too dangerous to be left at large, we were told, and were accordingly confined in a convent. We saw them one morning, to the number of 84, lined up in the street in charge of a squad of Filipino soldiers.

At Aparri I witnessed a ceremony which, at the time, I considered pregnant with significance, and I have seen no reason since for changing my opinion. During our entire journey we had noticed the existence of a distinct civil and military government. The civil government was simple and efficient, consisting of four officials for each province and four for each town. The military government consisted of an officer in command of a military district, having under his orders one officer as military governor of each province and one as governor of each important town. The military government was the dominant one. We remarked on this condition several times, and were told that it would last only during a state of war. At Aparri

we received proof of the sincerity of this statement. Word had been received from Hongkong that our commissioners at Paris, negotiating the terms of the treaty of peace, had plainly indicated that it was their intention not to return the islands to Spain. Relieved from their great apprehension of this action, the Filipino population began at once to see rosy visions of peace descending on their war-torn country. Steps were immediately taken to adjust existing conditions to the new state of things. Colonel Tirona, the governor of the northeastern military district, took the lead by relinquishing the control of affairs in the provinces comprised in his district in favor of a civil official chosen by the people. I was present at the impressive ceremony which solemnized this change in the province of Cagayan. The ceremony took place in the cathedral at Aparri and was attended by all the local officials of the towns of the province, as well as by any military officers that could be spared from their duties. Colonel Tirona placed the usual insignia of office—a gold-headed cane—in the hands of the governor-elect at the close of a short speech, in which he said that now that a state of peace seemed probable he desired to divest himself of the unusual authority that it had been necessary for him temporarily to exercise and to assume his proper position as a servant—not a ruler—of the people. The governor, in reply, expressed his thanks to the Colonel and to all of the expeditionary forces for the incalculable service they had rendered the people of the province in freeing them from Spanish rule and declared the purpose of the people to expend the last drop of their blood, if necessary, in defending the liberty thus gained against the encroachments of any nation whatsoever. The governor then took the oath of office, being followed in turn by each of the three other provincial officials, the heads of the departments of justice, revenue, and the police. It was the Colonel's intention to have a similar ceremony performed in each of the other provinces under his control. Had the Filipino government been allowed to work out its own salvation, this movement could hardly have failed to become historical.

At Aparri we saw proof also of the extent of Aguinaldo's authority. Four natives had been tried for robbery and attempted murder and had been sentenced to death. At the time of our visit they were awaiting the arrival from Malolos of the ratification of their sentence by the president.

Everywhere we traveled the greatest loyalty toward Aguinaldo was expressed. Now, at the time of his reverses, it is possible, though I am far from convinced, that he represents but one element of his people; then, in his prosperity, he certainly represented them all—at least in northern Luzon. At that time the enthusiasm of the people was tuned to the highest pitch. In every village every man was training in arms. Companies were formed of boys from 8 years of age upward. Wooden guns were furnished them, and they were drilled systematically every day. The women also were imbued with the spirit. Many and many a time have the people of a village gathered in the large room of the "presidencia," where the paymaster and I were quartered, and put their whole hearts into the songs in which their patriotism found vent. Of these songs the national hymn was the favorite, and no one within hearing ever failed to join in the chorus:

Del sueño de tres Siglos
Hermanos despertad!
Gritando, "¡Fuera España!
Viva la libertad!"

(From your sleep of three centuries
Brothers awake!
Crying, "Away with Spain!
Live liberty!")

After a delay of three days we were fortunate enough to catch a small coasting steamer, which took us around the northern end of the island and landed us on the western coast at the northern end of the province of South Ilocos. From here we proceeded toward Manila. We wished to visit the interior provinces on this side of the island, but were prevented by the authorities. Already the hope was fading that freedom from Spain meant freedom of government. The feeling toward Americans was changing, and we saw its effect in the colder manner of the people and in their evident desire to hustle us along by the most direct road to Manila.

Although the spirit was evidently missing, we were nominally treated with every distinction. A mounted escort was furnished us, which rode ahead with guidons to clear the road. The towns in these western coast provinces are larger and more numerous than those in the valley of the Rio Grande. The military element is much more in evidence, as well as the native religious element, which has succeeded the Spanish priests. At Vigan, the capital of South Ilocos, we dined with twenty-eight military officers, and at San Fernando, the capital of Union, with forty. All of these

officers are very young, a large proportion being minors. General Tino, commanding the northeastern military district, is just 21. Captain Natividad, the commander of three important towns with an aggregate population of over 40,000, is 18 years old, while his younger brother, who bears a commission as lieutenant, is but 16. His elder brother, with the rank of lieutenant-general, was next in command to Aguinaldo at the age of 23 when he fell in action in the revolution of 1896.

In the latter part of November Paymaster Wilcox and I returned to Manila. A few minutes after our arrival I attempted to engage the services of a Filipino coachman, and found him stubborn and insolent almost beyond belief. I thought of the courteous gentleman and respectful servant I had met in the interior and wondered where among them I should class this brute. Yet they are all three one; and together they make up the Filipino. Good treatment makes of him the respectful servant, education makes of him a gentleman that no man need be ashamed to greet; but anything that he interprets as injustice arouses something in his nature that makes of him a stubborn and intractable brute. If all were known about the Filipino, public sentiment toward him, while it might not be changed, would at least be softened. There are qualities in him too fine to be wantonly destroyed. If the brute must be broken, let us hope that the respectful servant and the gentleman will be encouraged.

REPORT OF TOUR THROUGH ISLAND OF LUZON.

MANILA, P. I., November 23, 1898.

SIR: 1. In obedience to your order, we herewith submit a report of the tour of observation of the northern part of the island of Luzon, undertaken by your authority during a leave of absence beginning October 5, 1898.

2. Paymaster W. B. Wilcox was detained by duty on board the U. S. S. *Monadnock* until October 6, Naval Cadet L. R. Sargent leaving on the 5th. Preparations for the journey were immediately begun, and were completed by the evening of October 7. From the experience of certain American officers we had learned that it was necessary, in order to pass through the lines of the Philippine forces, to obtain permission from their leader, Señor Emilio Aguinaldo. To comply with this form, Naval Cadet Sargent visited Aguinaldo at his official residence in the town of Malolos. Leaving Manila by train at noon, October 7, he arrived at his destination shortly after 2 o'clock. Señor Aguinaldo at this time was attending a meeting of the Philippine cabinet, and our request for passports through his troops in the northern provinces was taken to him by his aid-de-camp, Señor C. C. Zealcita. In making this request we stated our rank as naval officers and the object of our proposed journey as a desire to acquire information with regard to this country, at present almost unknown to Americans. Señor Aguinaldo sent out word by his aid-de-camp that he was too busily engaged that day to provide the passes, and, furthermore, that a member of our party coming later to request them should be expected to have a letter from either Admiral Dewey, General Otis, or General MacArthur.

3. Naval Cadet Sargent returned to Manila by the evening train. The flagship *Olympia* being at Cavite, to have requested a letter from the commander in chief would have caused a delay of at least one day. Both members of our party being acquainted with General MacArthur, the circumstances were explained to him and a letter obtained on the evening of the 1st to Malolos. This letter was addressed "to whom it may concern," and was a mere statement that the officers presenting it wished to visit the northern provinces of the island and desired passports through the Philippine forces. It gave the itinerary of the proposed journey. The next morning, October 8, we also obtained from Consul-General Williams a personal letter to Señor Aguinaldo, requesting that passports be provided us.

4. At noon of this day, October 8, we left Manila by train with five servants, eight horses, and between three and four hundred pounds of baggage, including a camp outfit, two rifles, and a shotgun, with ammunition. Paymaster Wilcox, in charge of the expedition, went on to Bayambang that night, while Naval Cadet Sargent left the train at Malolos to present our letters to Señor Aguinaldo. As on the day before, our request was taken in by Señor Zealcita. After a delay of about two hours Señor Aguinaldo's answer was brought out. It was to the effect that he declined to assume the responsibility of providing us with passports to travel in the provinces we wished to visit. Rumors had just been received of an insurrection, instigated by a Spanish bishop, in the northern provinces, on the western coast, and he could not tell how far an insurrection thus started might spread. While his authority was thus menaced he refused to provide us with papers that would make him responsible for our safety, while they might not protect us from illtreatment. He also refused a second request to furnish us passports specifically addressed to those soldiers only that were loyal to his command and stating that we traveled at our own risk. Through his aid-de-camp, however, he gave us

the repeated and positive assurance that we were free to prosecute our journey without passes from him, and that we should encounter no opposition from his forces. This oral promise was the only substitute that we were able to obtain for the formal passports that it has been the custom of the country heretofore to demand of every traveler.

5. Naval Cadet Sargent left Malolos by the first train next morning, October 9, and joined Paymaster Wilcox at Bayambang. At this town we remained at the house of Mr. Donald Clark, an Englishman, superintendent of a rice mill situated there. Here we made final preparations for an early morning start on horseback the next day. That evening two Americans came to Mr. Clark's house and requested shelter for the night. They had gone by train that morning to Dagupan, the northern terminus of the railway, intending to spend the night there. A squad of Philippine soldiers at the railway station, however, had demanded of them passes signed by Señor Aguinaldo. For want of them they were compelled to remain within the station until the departure of the next train south, which train they were required to board. This train remained for the night at Bayambang. This evidence of the attitude of the Philippine troops toward travelers increased our fears that our progress would be opposed at the first town on our route. Through the influence of Mr. Clark we obtained from the "presidente local" of the town of Bayambang a letter to the "presidente local" of the town of Rosales, the first town of importance on our route. This letter merely requested that we be allowed to continue our journey through that town.

6. At daylight next morning, October 10, we left Bayambang and took the road for Rosales. We reached that town just before sundown and pitched our tent on the bank of the river Agno, outside the limits of the town. For the first 5 or 6 miles from Bayambang we found the roads in good condition and traveled with ease. Nearer to Rosales the roads were deep with mud and covered with water in places. We were forced to go on foot the greater part of the distance, men and horses having great difficulty in making their way. About 11 o'clock in the morning we passed through the small town of Alcala. There were 12 soldiers stationed at this town in charge of a sergeant. They were armed with Remington rifles. We were met by the civil authorities and were surrounded by the people. Much curiosity was expressed in regard to our outfit, but it was of a harmless and friendly nature. No suspicion was excited and passports were not mentioned. The soldiers did not assert themselves in any way.

7. Between Alcala and Rosales we passed from the province of Pangasinan to that of Nueva Iclija. The province of Pangasinan is not touched upon in this report, since, except for the few miles traveled on the morning of October 10, we traversed it only by rail.

8. We were visited shortly after dark at our camp near Rosales by a messenger from the presidente local of that town with an invitation to pass the night at the government building or "presidencia." As we were already unpacked, we decided to remain in camp. We sent back to the presidente local by his messenger the letter we had obtained from the presidente local at Bayambang. We were visited during the evening by many natives from the town, among them several civil officials. No soldiers came near the camp. The next morning, October 11, we continued our journey, reaching Rosales in a few minutes. We visited the "presidencia," where we were met by the presidente local and all other natives of consequence in the town. We were allowed to proceed without protest, although surprise was expressed that we had not obtained written passports from the Philippine government. There were about 20 soldiers in this town, armed, as before, with Remington rifles and commanded by a sergeant. We were detained at Rosales only a short time and then took the road for Humingan.

9. From Rosales to Humingan, and thence to San Jose, our experiences of travel were much the same as those already described. The road led through the low rice region of the province of Nueva Iclija. It rained almost constantly, and the roads were nearly impassable. We went on foot much of the distance. The pack horses were unable to carry their loads, and we were forced to engage natives to relieve them. Labor was cheap. Ten men could usually be engaged for a day for the sum of \$2 in silver, or less than 10 cents in gold per man. We traveled slowly over this distance, the labor of walking through the mud, frequently over our knees, being excessive. The horses grew poor rapidly and we were forced to husband their strength. They were occasionally prostrated in the road and our progress was delayed until they could recover their strength. Moreover, we could seldom find proper food for them at night. As many as three at a time were unable to carry any weight for several days. One servant became ill and was left at a village. The rest of the party retained their health, with the exception of occasional cases of diarrhea and consequent sickness at the stomach, which did not prevent traveling. Our food during this period consisted of bacon and hardtack, which we had brought with us, and chickens and rice, which we obtained from the natives. The cooking was done by our own servant.

10. Through this part of the province of Nueva Icija almost the only form of agriculture encouraged at present by the natives is rice growing. A little sugar is also raised. The land is very rich; we encountered no barren or unfertile spots. The fields at this season of the year are several inches deep with water. There is no timber of value along the direct line of our route, but in the hills along the River Agno forests could be seen. We passed through similar forests later, which will be treated in their turn. The forests in this district, however, are nearer to a market. There are very few horses and practically no cattle. There are a great number of buffalo, and these are of extreme utility. The principal labor of the natives at this season is the thrashing of rice. This is done very primitively with implements that resemble on a large scale the pestle and mortar of a chemist. The mortar is replaced by a section of a log of hard wood hollowed out to receive the grain, the pestle by a hard club from 4 to 5 feet long and about 6 inches in diameter at each end. This club is scraped down at the middle to the size of the hand. In thrashing out the rice the native stands above the mortar and throws his club vertically into it with one hand, catching it up with the other hand and repeating the blow, always changing hands at the bottom of the stroke. Usually three or four natives beat into the same mortar and a certain cadence is always maintained. We have even seen them accompanied by a musical instrument. They pursue this occupation very industriously, and we seldom in this district got beyond the muffled sound of the rice beaters. A little cotton weaving is also done here. The cotton thread is brought from Manila and woven on crude bamboo looms into rough cloth, used by the natives.

11. In the villages of Humingan and Lupao there are a few Spanish prisoners—priests, soldiers, and civil officials. We have seen representatives of each of these three classes in these towns. We could detect no signs of previous ill treatment, nor of undue restriction. On the contrary, they appeared to possess the freedom of the town in which they lived.

12. The towns in this section are neither large nor important. Humingan, the largest, has not over two or three thousand inhabitants. The church, with the convent attached, is the largest building in each town; it is built of planed wood, whitewashed. There are three or four houses of planed wood in each town, the rest of the village consisting of grass huts. The presidente local and other local officers are native Filipinos. Most of them have received a certain amount of education at religious schools in Manila. They are intelligent men and are extremely eager to learn news from the outside world. Their knowledge of modern history and geography, however, is extremely limited; and their ignorance of current events is surprising. We brought them their first definite information with regard to Cuba and to their own present status. One or two of them had heard of the Congress at Paris; but no one had any idea as to its object, nor as to its relation to themselves. They were well grounded on only three points—the destruction of the Spanish squadron in Manila Harbor, the surrender of Manila, and the declaration by the Philippine government at Malolos of the independence of the islands and the establishment of a republican form of government with Señor Aguinaldo as president. Even on these points the details they had received were very inaccurate. Between the towns of Rosales and Humingan there are two small villages, called barrios, varying in population from one to three thousand inhabitants. We were thus enabled to sleep in a hut over night, and avoid camping in the wet fields by the roadside. These barrios are under the jurisdiction of the nearest town or "pueblo." There were soldiers in each town, but not more than twenty in any place, and there was no commissioned officer in the district. We were cordially received everywhere, not only by the heads of the town, but also by the laboring and farming people, who always saluted us in a friendly manner when we passed. On leaving each town our interpreter was presented by the presidente local with passes. These passes always included our native servants and packmen and sometimes ourselves as well. They were good only to the next town, and secured a comparatively prompt exchange of packmen. We were never allowed to take any men farther than to the next town without permanently attaching them to our party. It is the duty of the presidente local of each town to do his share in facilitating the journey of every properly accredited traveler. Usually the assistance brings him in a pecuniary return. The duty then becomes a privilege, and is very zealously guarded.

13. We arrived at the town of San Jose on the evening of October 14 and spent the night there. There was the usual guard here of between 12 and 20 soldiers, armed with Remington rifles and commanded by a noncommissioned officer. We had been warned by the official of the last town that San José must inevitably prove the end of our journey. There is no road for 30 miles beyond this point, and in this season the natives consider the trail impassable to white men. Very few of the natives themselves attempt it in the months of rain. We found at San José, however, 10 men willing to accompany us as pack bearers, and with these we started out next morning. The

trail proved to be a little better than represented. Twenty-four hours more of rain would have made at least three mountain streams impassable. The trail is, moreover, extremely intricate. It leads for over half a mile along a shoal in a small river, and follows the beds of different mountain streams for many times that distance. Rushing water, frequently knee deep on the horses, covered these stretches of the trail at the time we passed. On land grass and underbrush grow thickly over the trail and conceal it for considerable distances. Our guide had spent his life in this district and had traveled the trail very often. He deviated from it twice that day, however, and had much difficulty in regaining it. During the insurrection a company of Spanish soldiers had been sent over this trail. Our guide pointed out many spots where numbers of them had been ambushed and slain. Huts that had been built for shelter at night could frequently be seen. According to the statement of our guide, very few of this Spanish force lived to reach the town of Carranglan. It is undoubtedly a trail that a few men could hold against heavy odds; it is the first of this nature we have seen. It is very hilly and the ascents are steep, crooked, and surrounded by heavy trees and underbrush. Numerous rapid streams were crossed during the day. The pack bearers at first refused to cross two streams that were deeper and more rapid than the others. They required both encouragement and example before they could be induced to make the attempt. It rained fiercely all day.

14. At dark we arrived at the town of Puncan. This town is the smallest and least pretentious that we visited during our entire journey. It has a population of about 300 inhabitants, only two or three of whom speak Spanish, and these imperfectly. The presidencia is a thatched hut with only one room. Next morning we continued our journey with the same pack men as before. The presidente local of the town could not provide a sufficient number and permitted this breach of etiquette.

15. The journey of this day was a repetition of our experience of the preceding day, with the exception that the rain was neither so continuous nor so violent. At 3 o'clock we reached the bank of the last river that separated us from the town of Carranglan. This river, the Rio Barat, was swollen to such an extent that our horses were carried off their feet before the bed of the stream was reached. Not being able to get our freight across the stream with the means at hand, we attracted the attention of a native on the other bank by discharging our firearms and sent him to the town of Carranglan to procure buffalo for our assistance. The buffalo did not arrive that evening, however, and we spent the night in camp on the bank of the river. Next morning we found that the river had gone down considerably. Buffalo arrived from the town, and with their help we crossed in safety with all our freight.

16. On the other bank we were met by a lieutenant of the Philippine army, the first military officer we had seen since leaving the railroad. We were escorted by him and his soldiers to the presidencia. The presidente local received us rather coolly and treated us in that manner while we were his guests. He asked us for passports from the central government, and expressed surprise and suspicion when he learned that we had none in writing. He was the only civil officer that we met until after we left Aparri that joined with the military power in opposing our progress. Moreover, he was the only one that seemed to have more power and influence in his own town than the military officers stationed there. The troops here consisted of 40 soldiers armed with Remington rifles and commanded by the officer we had met at the river.

17. We spent the day at Caranglan, drying our baggage, which had been constantly wet for two days and had begun to mold. The officers here told us that there were still worse rivers to cross than those we had already encountered and other obstacles as well. This day was the 17th of October. At the rate we were traveling it was plainly impossible to accomplish the journey planned by November 5, and there appeared at this time no prospect of an improvement in the roads. We sent, therefore, letters addressed to the commanding officer U. S. S. *Monadnock*, requesting of the commander in chief an extension of leave of absence until November 26. These letters were given to the presidente local, who assured us that they would arrive safely at their destination.

18. We left Caranglan next morning. The presidente local insisted upon our taking a guard of 12 soldiers, with a sergeant, to protect us against the Igorrotes or savages, that are said to infest the hills between this town and Aritao. We had but little difficulty in making this trip, which lasted two days. The rain had ceased, and the rivers had decreased so much in size that they were crossed with ease. At the end of the first day we camped at the foot of the Caraballo Sur Mountains, at an elevation of 200 meters above the sea level. The next day we crossed the mountains. The road is very steep and of a clayey formation. It ascends very quickly to a height of 1,050 meters, as recorded by our barometer, and then descends at about the same incline to an elevation of between 200 and 300 meters. The northern slope is

covered with stones and pebbles. At the highest point of the road, a very well-defined summit, there is a stone barricade facing both slopes. This barricade was left here by the Spanish soldiers during the insurrection. They were driven from it by lack of water. It is an extremely strong position. At a level spot on the northern slope, about 500 feet below the summit, the Spanish troops have built a more elaborate fortification, consisting of a bamboo stockade inclosing a rectangular barricade of stones with a small block-house at each end. There is a watchtower at each corner of the stockade. This fortification can be fired upon from above and approached from several directions at the same time.

19. We arrived at Aritao shortly before sundown. A broad branch of the Rio Magat separated us from this town. There was a "banca" or native dugout canoe, however, in which men and baggage were taken to the other side, while the horses were swum across at a point higher up the stream. These facilities for crossing streams were always available when necessary during the remainder of our journey. In the mountains and highlands through which we passed in the last two or three days there are extensive forests. The forests are not homogeneous but contain many different classes of trees, the timber of which is in many cases valueless. Of the timber which we have seen the most valued on the island is the "mulawe," so called both in Spanish and Tegala. This is a tall straight tree with very few branches; the bark is very light in color but the wood is very dark and close-grained and resists water and weather. It is much used for boats and for the floors and exposed uprights of houses. There is also much bamboo, some of which has been cut. The heavier trees are as yet unmolested. We saw no signs of savages nor of poisonous snakes against which we had been warned by the natives of the district. In going from Carranglan to Aritao we went from the province of Nueva Icija to that of Nueva Vizcaya.

20. We were very cordially received by the presidente local of Aritao. On leaving next morning we were saluted by the music of a brass band and by the ringing of church bells. This precedent was followed by many of the towns which we visited in the next few days. There were about 30 soldiers at Aritao, but no commissioned officers. We were escorted on our journey by a squad of 6 mounted soldiers. At Dupax our escort was exchanged for a detail from that town. There, also, there were about 30 soldiers, commanded by a sergeant. Toward evening we arrived at the town of Bambang. These towns of Aritao, Dupax, and Bambang are much superior in size and appearance to those of Nueva Icija. These towns and those to the northward of them lie in the valleys of the Rio Magat and the Rio Grande de Cagayan. They have been seats of Spanish authority for over a century. A telegraph line previously connected the towns in these valleys with Manila. This line, however, was torn down during the insurrection. The native officials have repaired it between Bayombong and Aparri, using barbed wire. They have been forced to leave many poles uninsulated and short circuits frequently occur, especially in wet weather. The line between Bayombong and Carranglan is still down. There are many substantial wooden houses in each town. The church, with its convent, is usually built of brick and is very elaborate. The church at Aritao and many others date back over a hundred years. The native officials and leading men are better educated and better informed than those we had previously met. They possess, in addition, the same desire to improve their knowledge and the same receptivity that we had noticed in their countrymen.

21. We spent the night at Bambang. The presidente local was absent, attending a fiesta or carnival at Ilagan. A military officer stationed here received us and entertained us. This officer, Lieutenant Aguinaldo, is a nephew of Don Emilio. He is the first military officer we have met since leaving Carranglan. He commands the usual force of 30 or 40 soldiers. Our treatment at this town was extremely friendly and cordial.

22. We spent the night at Bambang. We were accompanied by several soldiers and Lieutenant Aguinaldo. This was the first time that a commissioned officer had formed part of our escort. This town is the capital of the province, and has a population of about 12,000 inhabitants. At this place we met the first formidable opposition to our progress. A military officer of the rank of commandante, corresponding to the grade of major in our Army, is stationed at this town, and is in fact the governor of the province under the orders of the colonel commanding in this district. He was absent at the time of our arrival, attending the fiesta at Ilagan. His place was taken by the next military officer in rank, Lieutenant Gemenes. This officer received us very coldly and demanded passports. He refused to be satisfied with our statement of the promise we had received from Don Emilio Aguinaldo. He informed us that before permitting us to proceed he would require the authority of his colonel, who was then at Ilagan. He sent a telegram concerning us to the colonel and left us to await the decision of that officer.

23. We spent the afternoon and night at the house of a native lawyer, Señor Arriola. Our host was a very intelligent man, and we explained our

position fully to him. We told him that passports are not required of travelers in the United States nor in any other free country. This information seemed to surprise him very much, but he readily accepted it as an argument against the attitude of the local lieutenant toward us. He left us for a short time to speak with other men of importance in the town and to use his influence in our favor. When he returned he assured us that we were at perfect liberty to travel without passes, and that the only question remaining was whether or not we were entitled to a military escort. As we would have gladly dispensed with the escort, we accepted this information as a decision entirely in our favor.

24. Next morning Lieutenant Gemenes came very early to the house where we were entertained, to tell us that a military escort was ready to accompany us on our journey at any hour. He hoped that we cherished no ill will against him for his action on the preceding day. We were not able to determine whether a favorable reply had been received from the colonel or whether this change of attitude was due to our arguments on the evening previous and to the influence of Señor Arriola. We left Bayombong with an escort consisting of a second lieutenant and 10 soldiers. The band was paraded and church bells rung. There was the greatest possible cordiality of feeling. At Bayombong there are stationed the commandante, First Lieutenant Gemenes, and a second lieutenant. There are 60 or 70 soldiers at Bayombong, armed, in this case, with both Remington and Mauser rifles.

25. We proceeded through the town of Solano to Bagabag. These towns are similar to Bambang and Dupax. They have the customary guard of about 30 soldiers. There are no commissioned officers in these towns, the soldiers being controlled by the officers at Bayombong. We were cordially received everywhere during this day and the next, and were greeted unconditionally as friends. From Aritao to Bambang we had found very good roads. The weather had been clear since our departure from Carranglan, and the roads were consequently dry and the traveling easy. From Bagabag to the next town (called Estella on the map), Cordon, there is only a mountain trail. This trail is infested at certain seasons by Igorrotes, who waylay and murder persons traveling in small and unarmed parties. Several murders have occurred here recently. Three small parties of natives, with horses and buffaloes, had been waiting at Bagabag for several days for an opportunity to travel with a military escort. They joined us next day.

26. We left Bagabag next morning with 12 soldiers. These, with the pack bearers and natives accompanying us, brought our number up to 47. The trail over these mountains is a good road, very easy of ascent. It winds up the slope, making the incline very gradual. The mountains are covered with forests similar to those on the Caraballo, and contain many small streams. There are two bamboo stockades between Bagabag and Cordon. One of these, Diadi, is indicated on the map; the other, Rosario, has been recently erected by the native government. It is situated about halfway between Bagabag and Diadi. Each stockade has a garrison of 15 soldiers in command of a sergeant. These stockades are merely outposts against the Igorrotes. They are very frail and would offer no resistance to a rifle bullet. In passing over these mountains our escorts used their rifles very freely, firing into every thick bush that might conceal a savage and frequently into the air as well, in order, they said, that the Igorrotes might know that our party carried firearms. We spent the night at Cordon, where the feeling toward us proved to be very friendly. There are 30 soldiers at Cordon under command of a first lieutenant.

27. In passing from Diadi to Cordon we went from the province of Neuva Vizcaya into that of Isabella. Neuva Vizcaya is a rich province naturally, but it is surrounded by the mountains, and has no outlet. The Rio Magat which connects the province with Rio Grande de Cagayan is not navigable, even for canoes of large size. The province produces principally rice, sugar, cocoa, and coffee. It is also rich in timber.

28. We left next morning, October 24, for Carig, intending to reach Echague that night. We were escorted by 6 soldiers and the lieutenant. We found the road to Carig in good condition, and reached that town about 10 o'clock. This town is small and poor. It has a guard of only 15 soldiers, with no officers. The garrison had been reduced to a minimum on account of an illness prevalent in the immediate locality, which had affected the soldiers. We left Carig after a short stay for breakfast with a squad of 5 soldiers. One of them introduced himself as Señor Villa, commandante of the military forces of the province of Isabella. His companion was Lieutenant Guzman, an officer acting as his aide. Señor Villa informed us that he had received orders from his colonel to leave his headquarters at Ilagan and to make all possible speed toward Bayombong, where we had last been heard from. His orders were to demand passports from us signed by Don Emilio Aguinaldo. If we were traveling without them, he was to examine into the object of our journey and to consult by wire with his colonel before permitting us to proceed. As there was no telegraph station at Echague, we were forced to

turn back to Carig. Here we were informed that the line was down somewhere between the station and Ilagan. Men were sent out to repair it, and we were forced to wait until it should be opened. We were taken by the commandante to the convent of the town and installed there. Our delay in this town lasted seven days, from noon October 24 to noon October 31.

29. The first two days were occupied in repairing the lines. On October 27 Señor Villa was able to communicate with his colonel. He brought back the answer that that officer had already sent a messenger to the central government asking for instructions. We were required to await the answer of the message, which had been, according to the information we received, three days on the road. Señor Villa assured us that an answer would arrive in three days. This appeared impossible to us, but we were obliged to accept his statement. After the expiration of three days we gave to Señor Villa, and requested him to send to Colonel Tirona, a telegram signed by ourselves. It was a mere statement that our accommodations were poor in Carig, and that, if a longer delay was necessary, we desired to proceed to Ilagan. This telegram was sent to Aparri. The colonel, however, at that time was on his way from Ilagan to Aparri. That night it rained and there was a violent wind. Next morning the line was down in several places. While we were waiting for the line to be repaired we composed a long telegram to Colonel Tirona, stating our position, explaining that we were required to return to Manila by the 26th of November, and requesting him to decide from his own authority whether we should proceed or turn back. On the morning of October 31 we gave the telegram to Señor Villa. Señor Villa himself wrote a telegram to accompany ours, stating that, in his opinion, we had not come into the country to draw plans or for any other military purpose. This was a statement which he had given us to understand at the time had formed part of his original telegram to Colonel Tirona a few days before. The line from Carig to Ilagan was still closed, but that from Ilagan to Aparri was supposed to be open. The two telegrams were given to a mounted courier with orders to take them with all speed to Ilagan; to send them from there by wire, and to return with the answer. This journey would have occupied at least three days. Fortunately the line to Ilagan was reported open just as the courier was about to start. His orders were accordingly countermanded. Colonel Tirona's answer to our first telegram came during the morning. It was favorable. He saluted us affectionately, and authorized Señor Villa to accompany us to Ilagan.

30. During our detention at Carig we were not treated as prisoners. We were informed that if we wished to return to Manila by the same road we had followed in leaving it we were at liberty to do so. Within the village itself we had, of course, entire liberty. We asked Señor Villa if the Philippine republic intended to demand passports of travelers, and used the same argument that had proved so efficient at Bayombong. He replied that it would be the custom only in time of war. He classed this period as a time of war and the congress at Paris as a mere suspension of hostilities, at the end of which their nation might again be enveloped in war. Our relations with Señor Villa were mainly official. His manner toward us was brusque, and at times discourteous. He was extremely suspicious of us, particularly of the diary that we kept from day to day, and of a camera that formed part of our equipment. He became slowly convinced, however, that we were not seeking for military information. After he had assured himself of this, he told us that the colonel had feared that we were making maps of the country. During the rest of our journey we were entirely free from the taint of this suspicion. According to Señor Villa's statement, the charge had first been made by the Spanish prisoners, who have never ceased to warn the natives that American troops would come into the province to conquer them, when they would find themselves in worse hands than before they rebelled against Spain.

31. A redeeming feature of our detention at Carig was the companionship of two lieutenants of the Philippine army that were quartered with us. These officers, Lieutenant Guzman and Lieutenant Clarabal, were very pleasant and gentlemanly.

32. We left Carig on the afternoon of October 31, accompanied by Commandante Villa, Lieutenant Guzman, Lieutenant Clarabal, and the 5 soldiers that had arrived with the commandante. It had rained almost constantly during the last week, and the two rivers between Carig and Echague were greatly swollen. We lost a horse in the river Carig, but crossed without other accident. In these streams, and particularly in the river Magat and the Rio Grande de Cagayan, there are many alligators, of which the natives are in great fear. No native will venture into the water nor into the grass along the bank until he has first thrown stones in front of him to frighten away any alligators which may be in the neighborhood.

33. Echague is somewhat larger and more pretentious than Carig. It has a guard of 20 soldiers. From this town we went by boat to Ilagan, sending the servants with the horses by the road. The boat was a dugout 25 feet

long and 3 feet wide, with a grass canopy amidship 8 feet long. It was rowed by six natives. There are many eddies and whirlpools in the river, rendering it for some distance below Échague almost un navigable even for bancas. We shipped water repeatedly and were twice nearly swamped. Farther down, particularly below the mouth of the Río Magat, the stream is deeper and quieter, and cascoes and paugas come up to this point with freight received from the steamers at Aparri.

34. We arrived at Ilagan that evening, November 1. This town is the capital city of the province of Isabella. It has a population of between ten and fifteen thousand inhabitants, and has many large wooden houses roofed with corrugated iron, giving it rather a European appearance. It is well situated for defense, being at the junction of the Río Pinacananan with the Río Grande. It is protected by these wide streams from all points except the south. To attack the city by land from the south it would be necessary to bring troops up the eastern side of the Río Grande, where there are no roads. The site of the city is raised, moreover, about 40 feet above the level of the river. At this city there are stationed the commandante, Señor Villa, 2 captains, 4 lieutenants, 1 surgeon, and about 100 soldiers. Besides the officers named above, there is a "commandante interno," or civil officer, who takes charge in the absence of the commandante.

35. We remained at Ilagan two days and were treated with great friendliness. The commandante interno, who is the highest civil officer in the province, was particularly cordial. This gentleman, Señor Guzman, father of the lieutenant who was with us at Carig, is a member of one of the most influential families in the province, and his friendship was of great advantage to us. In this town we were entertained at the house of a wealthy citizen. The first night after our arrival a ball was given in our honor, at which there were over forty young ladies and an equal number of well-dressed and gentlemanly men. The ball was well conducted. The dances were Spanish. The next evening we were invited to the theater to see two one-act Spanish comedies, presented by the society young people of the town. They were both excellently given, and spoke well for the intelligence of the players.

36. We desired to continue our journey from Ilagan to Tuguegarao and from that point across the mountains to the western coast. This request was wired by Señor Villa to Colonel Tirona at Aparri. That officer replied that it would not be possible to make the proposed trip at this season of the year. He invited us to proceed to Aparri, saying that he would send a steam launch up the river to take us to that city. We replied by another telegram, repeating our request and saying that the trip across the mountains would be made at our own risk. The reply was a courteously worded but positive refusal. The colonel had sent out messengers to examine the roads and they reported them impassable. Moreover, there was danger from Igorrotes. He said that he felt himself responsible for our safety in the district over which he held command. He feared that any accident happening to our party might be misconstrued by our Government and create a wrong and injurious impression of the good faith of the Philippines and the tranquillity of the country. He repeated his invitation to visit Aparri, take a steamer from that port, disembark at a northern point on the western coast, and continue our journey south by land. This arrangement was accepted as the most satisfactory one left open to us.

37. There are many Spanish prisoners in this town—civil officers, priests, soldiers. Eighty-four priests were paraded in the street for our inspection. The greater number of them were dressed in civilian garb, only four or five of them wearing the robes of their office. Nearly all of them wore long hair and beards. They appeared in good health, and we could detect no evidence of maltreatment. These priests had been assembled from different parts of the province. They are kept under stricter guard than either of the other two classes of prisoners for the reason that the native officials fear that if permitted to go among the people they will use the influence they possess through their position in the church to incite them against the Philippine government. We also met Don José Perez, a Spaniard, who had previously been governor of the island. He was well dressed and appeared to be enjoying all the ordinary comforts.

38. Our horses arrived at Ilagan November 2 and were sent on to Aparri next day. The steam launch mentioned by the colonel not arriving on time, we expressed our desire to set out in a canoe without delay. A "panga" or large built-up canoe, rowed by twelve men, was accordingly prepared. Friday morning, November 4, we embarked for Aparri. We were accompanied on the journey by Commandante Villa and Lieutenant Guzman. All the officers, civil and military, of the town accompanied us to the boat and wished us a pleasant journey.

39. The trip from Ilagan to Aparri lasted three days. We stopped at only one town on the way. This was Cabagan Viejo, which we visited while waiting for the moon to rise on the evening of the third day. At 4 o'clock on the afternoon of the second day we were met, about 18 miles above Aparri, by

the steam launch sent by Colonel Tirona. We were taken in tow and arrived at Aparri that night, November 5.

40. In these two days we passed out of the province of Isabella and entirely through the province of Cagayan. These are the leading tobacco provinces in the island. An idea of their wealth can be obtained from the fact that before the Philippine insurrection \$3,000,000 in tobacco alone came yearly from the one province of Isabella. The tobacco of this province is preferred for exportation to that of Cagayan. Both provinces raise also sugar, rice, cocoa, and coffee. Cattle also are shipped from Aparri. The Rio Grande through these provinces is the great artery of trade. Tobacco is sent down the river in cascoes and pangas, and imports from Aparri are taken back by the same means. The current is very swift, and it is slow and difficult work to ascend the river in these boats. Poling is the method resorted to. The banks of the river are about 20 feet above the stream over most of the distance and are regular throughout. The width of the river varies from 100 to 500 yards. Much fishing with nets is done in the river.

41. At Aparri we went alongside the *Philippina* and reached the wharf by crossing this vessel. We were met on board by Commandante Leyba, military commander in the province of Cagayan. We were taken to a private house, where we were quartered during our stay, at Aparri. Here we met Colonel Tirona, commander of the military district, including the provinces of Nueva Vizcaya, Isabella, and Cagayan. He welcomed us cordially and continued from that time to treat us in a very friendly manner. We remained at Aparri three days, until the departure of the steamer *Osto*, November 9.

42. The steamer *Saturnas*, which had left the harbor the day before our arrival, brought news from Hongkong papers that the Senators from the United States at the congress of Paris favored the independence of the islands, with an American protectorate. Colonel Tirona considered the information of sufficient reliability to justify him in regarding the Philippine independence as assured and warfare in the island at an end. For this reason he proceeded to relinquish the military command he held over the provinces and to place this power in the hands of a civil officer elected by the people. On the day following our arrival in Aparri the ceremony occurred which solemnized this transfer of authority in the province of Cagayan. The presidentes locales of all the towns in the province were present at the ceremony, conducted by a native priest. After the priest had retired Colonel Tirona made a short speech, stating that, since in all probabilities permanent peace was at hand, it became his duty to relinquish the authority he had previously held over the province and to place it in the hands of a civil officer elected by the people. He then handed the staff of office to the man who had been elected "jefe provincial."

This officer also made a speech, in which he thanked the disciplined military forces and their colonel for the service they had rendered the province and assured them that the work they had begun would be perpetuated by the people of the province; where every man, woman and child stood ready to take up arms to defend their newly won liberty and to resist with the last drop of their blood the attempt of any nation whatever to bring them back to their former state of dependence. His speech was very impassioned. He then knelt, placed his hand on an open Bible, and took the oath of office. He was followed by the three other officers who constitute the provincial government, the heads of the three departments—justice, police, and internal revenue. Every town in this province has this same organization. At the time of our departure Colonel Tirona planned to go within a few days to Iligan and from there to Bayombong, repeating this ceremony in the capital city of each province.

43. We were hospitably entertained at the Aparri; two balls were given in our honor. The town has a population of 20,000 inhabitants. It has many handsome houses and several well-defined streets. The military force stationed here consists of 300 soldiers, in addition to which the harbor has the protection of the gunboat *Philippina*, which carries two guns of a caliber of about 3 inches. There are several officers here, three captains and five or six lieutenants. The colonel goes from town to town in his district, and Commandante Leyba spends part of his time at Tuguegarao. There are no Spaniards here, with the exception of two or three merchants; one of these, representing the company of the steamer *Saturnas* we have met. He is pursuing his business entirely unmolested. All the priests, soldiers, and civil officers have been sent to Tuguegarao and other towns up the river. Colonel Tirona does not consider them secure in a port town.

44. We left Aparri November 9 on the steamer *Osto*. Before leaving Colonel Tirona provided us with a letter directed to Colonel Tino, at Vigan, in the province of Ilocos Sur; or, in the event of his absence from that town, to the commandante. This letter was sealed. The steamer left port at 12:30 p. m., drawing 14 feet 9 inches; Captain Pederson, commanding the *Osto*, was not acquainted with the port of Enrri-mao, in the province of Ilocos Norte, the port at which we wished to disembark, but took us to Salomague, a few miles

farther south, in the province of Ilocos Sur. The natives assert that the former harbor is much more secure and easy to enter than the latter. The *Oslo* remained outside the breakers, while we were put ashore in a ship's boat. We passed several native canoes going out to the ship, the leading one having on board a sergeant with a squad of soldiers. We landed on the beach and immediately sent the boat back to the ship. A few minutes later two officials from the town of Cabujao rode up. Our arrival had been reported to them, and they had come immediately to refuse us permission to disembark. The *Oslo* was already under way, however, and they were not able to carry out their intention. On the shore at Salomague there is a fortification about 5 feet high and 150 feet long. This barricade is built of sticks arranged in two rows and filled in between with sand and coral stones.

Its walls are about 4 feet thick, and it is built in the form of a crescent, with the concave part toward the sea. The formation of the reefs here and for some distance south along the coast is coral. The officers who met us were both dressed in military uniform. One of them wore the insignia of a first lieutenant, the other none whatever. Horses were provided for us, and we accompanied the officers to Cabugoa. The officer without insignia of rank proved to be a native priest, the curé of the village. He put on his robe over his uniform as soon as he reached the convent. It is a fact worthy of note that in every town we visited in the provinces on the western coast we were met by a curé, who appeared to have great influence in civil matters. In the four provinces we had previously visited, on the contrary, we saw only one native priest. He was in a church performing service. At Cabagao our letter to Colonel Tino was not sufficient to gain permission to proceed. We were detained here all day, while the lieutenant sent a messenger to Vigan to obtain instruction from the commandante. The telegraph line was down and we could not wire. We were treated very coolly at this town and were regarded with suspicion. Next morning, an answer not having been received from Vigan, we asserted our right to proceed to that town to present our letter to the commandante. The lieutenant finally withdrew his objections. There were no transportation accommodations. We succeeded at length in buying one horse and a broken-down killis, in which only one could ride. We proceeded to the town of Lapo, where we changed vehicles. We left that town in a killis drawn by a steer. We were halfway between Lapo and Magsingal when we were met by three military officers—two captains and a lieutenant—in a carriage drawn by two horses. The senior captain informed us that they had been sent down from Vigan by the commandante, with orders to require us to turn back and reembark on our ship, the report having reached Vigan that we had disembarked from an American man-of-war, which was still waiting for us at Salomague. When we explained our position and showed them the letter to Colonel Tino, or, in case of his absence, to the commandante at Vigan, they permitted us to proceed to Magsingal, where they could communicate with their superior. They very politely insisted on our taking their carriage, while they followed in our cart. We were delayed at Magsingal until the early evening, waiting for an answer from the commandante. He brought the answer himself, in a handsome carriage drawn by four horses. He had with him a copy of the order he had just received from the Philippine secretary of war. This order granted liberty to persons of any nation, except Spain, to travel at will through the islands, under certain restrictions, viz. that they could not carry arms, nor approach within 200 meters of a fortification, nor make any plans, or take photographs of them. In compliance with this order, we were allowed to proceed, but were requested to give up all our arms, including our revolvers. We went on to Vigan that night, accompanied by the commandante and five other officers who had assembled at Magsingal. We rode in carriages, none of them drawn by fewer than three horses, and arrived at Vigan about 8 o'clock. Vigan is a town of about 25,000 inhabitants. Its streets are well laid out, and all the houses near the center of the town are built of wood, usually whitewashed. It has much more the appearance of a city than any other town we have visited. We were entertained at the palacio. This building before the insurrection had been the residence of the governor of the province, but it is now used as the headquarters of Colonel Tino. It is by far the handsomest house we have seen outside of Manila, and is perhaps the equal of any there. There is another house in the town even more elegant; this was formerly the residence of the archbishop. At the palacio there are quartered over eighteen military officers; they are all very young, as is usual in the Philippine army. The oldest one among them was a man of 29 years, with the grade of captain.

46. We remained at Vigan all next day, November 12. It had rained during the night, rendering impassable a part of the road to the next town. We walked through the town and visited the houses of several tradespeople. At one of these houses we heard the first and only definite complaint which came to our ears during the entire journey on the part of the natives against the present government. These people complained of the taxes imposed

upon them and even went so far as to state that they preferred the Spanish Government. This statement was made in the presence of a party of six natives and was acquiesced in by all; they were all, however, of the same family.

47. Next morning we left Vigan and proceeded to Santa Maria, passing through the towns of Santa and Narvacan. Between Santa and Narvacan we came to the pass of Pidig. The road here goes between a bold rocky point and the sea. To-day the sea line was 70 or 80 feet from the bluff, but in windy weather the waves cover the road and dash against the bluff. During the insurrection the Spaniards attempted to defend this pass; their barricades are still standing. We were escorted out of Vigan by the commandante and eight of his officers, all in carriages. These turned back, one at a time, until we were left with one lieutenant, who had been detailed to accompany us to San Fernando, and by two captains, who were going home on leave of absence. We also had a guard of four soldiers, who rode ahead with pennants and cleared the road. At each town we were joined by the senior officer stationed there, who accompanied us on horseback to the next town. From Narvacan we were accompanied to Santa Maria by Captain Natividad, an officer 18 years of age, who commands the military forces in the three neighboring towns. Captain Natividad remained with us at Santa Maria, where we spent the night in a convent. We intended to leave this town by trail for the mountains, passing through the provinces of Lepanto and Benguet and returning to the main road in the province of Union. When we wished to start next morning, Captain Natividad opposed our going, saying that he was under orders to take that action. It rained very hard all night and all morning, and the Captain gave as his first reason that the roads were not passable. It was only when we continued to insist that he told us positively that he could not permit us to go, as there was danger from Igorrotes and Colonel Tino felt himself responsible for our safety. He told us that Colonel Tino had invited us to visit him at San Fernando. We left Santa Maria that afternoon and reached Condon before night, passing through the towns of San Estaban and Santiago. We were escorted by the lieutenant and Captain Natividad. We found Condon a handsome town systematically laid out. After Vigan, it is the handsomest town we visited. There are two captains here and several lieutenants. We were received here with unusual cordiality and were accompanied out of town next morning by the presidente local and by a captain stationed at the town. Our journey this day took us to Nanagpacan, passing through the towns of Santa Lucia, Santa Cruz, and Tagudin. Fresh horses were procured at each town and the officers accompanying us were changed.

48. In going from Tagudin to Bangar we passed from the province of Ilocos Sur into that of Union. The province of Ilocos Sur raises principally rice, tobacco, sugar, cattle, and sheep. The tobacco is of an inferior quality, being coarser and stronger than that raised in Isabella and Cagayan. The cultivation of coconuts is profitable and is increasing. Goats and pigs are raised in great numbers. Many of the people are engaged in the weaving of cotton, from which they make cloth, towels, etc. The cloth is coarse, but very strong. The natives realize the inferiority of the cloth and the discrepancy between its commercial value and the labor expended on it. Some of the cotton comes from Ilocos Norte and from Abra; much of it, however, comes as thread from Manila. The only part of the province that is cultivated or settled is a narrow strip between the province and the sea. This strip is very thickly settled. In the mountains there are mines of copper, sulphur, and gold; but these we have not seen. The Spaniards have spent much time and labor on these coast provinces, relatively speaking. Probably the best road in the island is the one on which we traveled through Ilocos Sur and Union. It is raised above the level of the fields, and has a foundation of stone and lime. Bridges were built when the road was constructed, over a hundred years ago, but they are down now. Some of these were passable at the beginning of the insurrection, but were burned during that struggle. At the beginning of the dry season every year bamboo bridges were put across these streams. They usually last from December to June. Several of them have already been built this year, but the recent rains had caused them to be washed away. During the rainy months other methods are adopted for crossing these streams. The streams are numerous, but many of them have very little current. They are crossed by a ferry—a bamboo raft hauled across by means of a bamboo rope which spans the stream. Traveling on this road in the rainy season is rather difficult. Carriages are usually used but they are frequently mired and the passengers are compelled to walk. The carriages are drawn by either horses, steers, or buffaloes, according to the state of the road. The towns along this road have usually many wooden houses, and invariably a very handsome church and convent, usually of brick. There are more barrios here than in the eastern provinces; each town has two or three. Spanish soldiers laid waste this region during the insurrection of 1896. The principal buildings in many towns have been burnt, particularly

in the province of Union. On the other hand, during the last insurrection the Spaniards took refuge in the large buildings, and these are consequently riddled with rifle shots.

49. We spent the night in the small town of Namagpacan and went on to San Fernando next morning. Carriages were prepared for us at every village, and we traveled with the customary escort. At San Fernando we met Colonel Tino, commander of the military district embracing the provinces of North and South Ilocos, Union, Abra, Lepanto, Bontoc, and Benget. This officer had received his commission as brigadier-general three days before our arrival; he is 21 years old.

We were received politely by this officer, but not cordially. He expressed several times his suspicion with regard to the object of our journey. He asked several times if we knew how to make maps and plans; also why we were not in uniform. We had sent word to this officer that we desired to visit the province of Benguet, taking the trail from San Fernando. He showed us an unsigned telegram purporting to be from the central government instructing him not to permit the American officers to reconnoiter any further in the district. For this reason he said he could not permit us to visit Benguet. We sent, through him, a telegram to the central government repeating our request and calling attention to their war department's order of October 20 regarding travelers. We were informed next morning by General Tino that our request had been refused. The reason given was that there were dangers on the trail. We accordingly left the town next morning, taking the road directly for Dagupan.

50. San Fernando is the capital city of the province of Union. It is a town of only three or four thousand inhabitants and is very limited in area, lying between the mountains and the sea. It is the port for the province of Union. We have seen trains of buffalo carts taking tobacco there for exportation. There were about twenty military officers in the town when we were there. Many of them are on General Tino's staff and are not regularly stationed in the town.

51. From San Fernando to Dagupan there were few significant or instructive incidents. We were never without a guard of soldiers. At the town of Baoong we met a German, Mr. Otto Sheerer, who had lived three years in the province of Benguet and was about to return there with his family. He said the trail was safe and could be traveled by horses. The Igorrotes of the province, according to his statement, are a very gentle people. These are the civilized Igorrotes, or Tinguias. At noon November 18 we arrived at Santa Tomas. The land between here and Dagupan is very low; the roads are heavy. We accordingly took a native sailboat for Parao; from that town to Dagupan. The natives, fearing to take their boat across the bar at Dagupan, we crossed that at San Fabian and proceeded to our destination through a protected inlet of the sea. Along our route there were great beds of nipa. This plant is of great value to the natives. Wines are made from the sap, and the leaves are used for thatching houses. We arrived at Dagupan that night, and at Manila November 20. We reported to the commanding officer of the *Monadnock* and next morning to the commander in chief.

52. The foregoing narrative of our journey is designed to give a general description of the country we passed through and of the methods of travel, and to illustrate by its incidents the character and grade of intelligence of its people and their attitude toward Americans, especially toward ourselves as military officers. The information we have acquired on certain points is summed up in the following paragraphs:

INTELLIGENCE AND EDUCATION OF THE NATIVES.

53. The Philippine officers, both military and civil, that we have met in all the provinces we have visited have, with very few exceptions, been men of intelligent appearance and conversation. The same is true of all those men who form the upper class in each town. The education of most of them is limited, but they appear to seize every opportunity to improve it. They have great respect and admiration for learning. Very many of them desire to send their children to schools in the United States or Europe. Many men of importance in different towns have told us that the first use to be made of the revenue of their government, after there is no more danger of war, will be to start good schools in every village. The poorer classes are extremely ignorant on most subjects, but a large percentage of them can read and write.

RELATION BETWEEN RICH AND POOR.

54. There is a very marked line between these two classes, and this has been broadened by the insurrection, for the reason that military officers must equip themselves without pay, and that civil officers have numerous expenses for which they receive no return. All officers, civil and military, have therefore been chosen from the richer class; and the political and military power of the provinces is in the hands of that class. The private sol-

diers are fed and clothed by the government and allowed a very small amount of spending money—in the western provinces 30 cents in silver per week.

ATTITUDE OF THE MILITARY TOWARD THE CIVIL CLASS.

55. In the provinces of the east that we have visited there appears to be little or no friction between the civil and military classes. Officers and privates, as far as we could observe, treat civilians with consideration. In the provinces of Ilocos Sur and Union there is a marked difference. The officers are more domineering. In traveling in these provinces we had many opportunities to observe this attitude. When accidents happened to our carriage, the officer commanding our escort called to our assistance every native in sight. When they did not answer his call promptly, we have seen him strike them with his riding whip. One man had a serious wound on his face where an officer had struck him with his pistol butt. He came to us for redress, after having appealed in vain to the military officer in command of the town. An order from Don Emilio Aguinaldo, dated October 18, 1898, calls the attention of his officers to the evils of this practice and orders them to correct it in themselves and to instruct all sergeants, corporals, and privates on the attitude they should maintain toward civilians.

DOMINION OF THE CHURCH.

56. In the provinces of Nueva Icija, Nueva Vizcaya, Isabella, and Cagayan the native priests have no voice whatever in civil matters.

The Catholic Church itself seems to have very little hold on the people of these provinces. Many men have expressed to us their preference for the Protestant Church. In Ilocos Sur and Union there are many more priests than in the other provinces mentioned. Every pueblo and barrio has its cura, and there are higher offices of the church in the larger towns. They appear to have an important influence in all civil matters.

POPULAR SENTIMENT REGARDING INDEPENDENCE.

57. Of the large number of officers, civil and military, and of leading townspeople we have met nearly every man has expressed in our presence his sentiment on this question. It is universally the same. They all declare they will accept nothing short of independence. They desire the protection of the United States at sea, but fear any interference on land. The question of the remuneration of our Government for the expense of establishing a protectorate is never touched upon. On the subject of independence there is, again, a marked difference between the four provinces first visited and those of Ilocos Sur and Union. In the former there is more enthusiasm—the sentiment is more of the people; in the latter it is more of the higher class and of the army. In these provinces we have seen signs of actual discontent with the existing state of things.

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE UNITED STATES.

58. There is much variety of feeling among the Philippines with regard to the debt of gratitude they owe to the United States. In every town we found men that said our nation had saved them from slavery, and others who claimed that without our interference their independence would have been recognized before this time. On one point they are united, however, viz. that whatever our Government may have done for them it has not gained the right to annex them. They have been prejudiced against us by the Spaniards. The charges made have been so numerous and so severe that what the natives have since learned has not sufficed to disillusion them. With regard to the record of our policy toward a subject people, they have received remarkable information on two points—that we have mercilessly slain and finally exterminated the race of Indians that were native to our soil, and that we went to war in 1861 to suppress an insurrection of negro slaves, whom we also ended by exterminating. Intelligent and well-informed men have believed these charges. They were rehearsed to us in many towns in different provinces, beginning at Malolos. The Spanish version of our Indian problem is particularly well known.

PREPAREDNESS FOR WAR.

59. The Philippine government has an organized military force in every province we have visited. They claim it extends also into Ilocos, Norte, Abra, Lepanto, Bontoc, and Benguet. With regard to its existence in Ilocos and Benguet, we can speak with assurance.

We have met two officers with the rank of captain who are regularly stationed at Laoag, the capital city of Ilocos Norte, and also the comandante of the province of Benguet. The latter officer had come to San Fernando to obtain instructions from General Thio, and was about to return to Trinidad, the capital of that province. The number of troops under arms can only be given approximately. There are comparatively few in Nueva Icija; an estimated number of not over 300. In the military district embracing the prov-

nce of Nerva Vizcaya, Isabella, and Cagayan, Colonel Tirona, Commandante Leyba, and Commandante Villa agreed in giving the number of soldiers under arms actually as 2,000. An estimate, founded on the size of the garrisons in the towns we visited, would bring the number nearly up to that figure. In the western military districts the number of forces is about double that number, leaving out those stationed in the interior provinces of Abra, Lepanto, Bontoc, and Bengnet, of which we know nothing positively. In the coast provinces of Ilocos Norte, Ilocos Sur, and Union a conservative estimate of the forces is 3,500. In most of the pueblos the garrison is but little larger than those in the towns of the western districts; but there are many barrios, each one of which has its guard of soldiers, never less than 12. In the eastern military district we met not more than 25 officers, and in the western district over 60. There are rifles enough for all, principally Remingtons, but many Mansers. In every cnartel there were at least as many rifles as there were soldiers in the garrison. The arms are more numerous in the eastern than in the western provinces. It is safe to estimate the number of rifles in the eastern district as at least twice the number of soldiers. Commandante Villa and other officers made the statement that 40,000 rifles were being distributed among the people of that district. We have seen no proof of this statement. Ammunition is said to be plentiful, and it appears so from the fact that the soldiers use it freely in hunting for deer. With regard to the total force of the Philippine army, actual and reserve, we can not speak from our own knowledge. Colonel Tirona claimed that 200,000 men from all the islands could be put in the field well armed; and several other officers have independently given the same figure. Every officer that we have seen carried a Spanish sword and revolver. They wear these weapons constantly, but regard them with contempt, preferring the bola at close quarters. The *Philippina*, which was at Aparri during our visit, carries two guns of a caliber of about 3 inches. These are the only guns we have seen, with the exception of two revolving cannons in the palacio at Malolos. We saw no fortifications. The Spaniards have left numerous stockades in the wilder regions, and the natives have built a few others. There are also numerous barricades thrown up during the insurrection. In the towns the Spaniards defended themselves in the houses for want of other protection. The military spirit pervades in the eastern district, where every town and barrio has organized companies of its children, which are drilled every day. In the western districts we did not see any children under arms. The officers have had no military education except that which they gained during the insurrection. Spanish drill tactics are used, and most of the officers are still studying the elementary text-book.

Respectfully submitted.

W. B. WILCOX,
Paymaster, U. S. N.
LEONARD R. SARGENT,
Naval Cadet, U. S. N.

The following document has been translated in English and reprinted by the "Comité Central Filipino en el Extranjero," in virtue of instructions received from their government. Official editions of this correspondence have been forwarded through the post to the Presidents of both Houses:

*To the honorable the members of the United States Senate
and House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

GENTLEMEN: The government of the Philippine republic being informed that it is the intention of the President of the United States to convene a meeting of the honorable members of Congress at a comparatively early date for the purpose of discussing and passing a resolution having for its object a just decision as to the policy to be pursued in reference to the present situation in the Philippines, I believe it to be consistent with the dictates of courtesy, as well as a duty to humanity, that in view of the fact that I have been intrusted with the portfolio of foreign affairs I should respectfully submit this document to you, setting forth the aspirations of the Filipino people and their reasons and justification for wishing to be recognized by your influential Government as an independent state.

Allow me, gentlemen, to lay before you, for your distinguished consideration, the facts and rights that form the grounds upon which the claim for recognition is made and sustained.

FIRST.

It is generally accepted as an axiom that as regards international affairs the larger and more powerful a state the greater is the obligation, morally, to support and maintain lesser states in the independence, the welfare, and the happiness with which God, in His bountiful goodness, has designed should be theirs and of which the greater states are guardians.

For instance, it appears evident that the powerful and wealthy nation which you, gentlemen, represent in Congress has been deputed by God to assist the weak Filipinos in the arduous and difficult task of restoration of their independence.

Eloquent proof of this is to be found in the cooperation offered and rendered to Don Emilio Aguinaldo in May, 1898, by the United States consuls at Hongkong and Singapore (Mr. Ronnseville Wildman and Mr. E. Spencer Pratt) in order that our illustrious leader might continue the revolutionary war waged against Spain in 1896 and 1897, hostilities in connection with which were suspended under the provisions of the compact of Biacnabat6.

The cooperation referred to consisted of the facts that the United States dispatch boat *McCulloch* (attached to Admiral Dewey's squadron) conveyed Don Emilio Aguinaldo from Hongkong to Cavite, where he arrived on the 19th May, 1898; that Admiral Dewey received Don Emilio Aguinaldo with the ceremony and honors due to a general, in the presence of the whole of the officers and men of the flagship *Olympia*, and, besides, gave him 60 Spanish Mauser rifles to aid in a renewal of the revolution against Spain; that Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo was allowed to establish in Cavite—which was then held by the United States naval forces—the headquarters of the Filipino government, which commenced to exercise the functions of government on the 24th May, 1898, issuing therefrom a proclamation declaring war against Spain to wrest from her our independence. (Proclamation attached hereto.)

The letters of the aforesaid consuls, which are attached hereto for the information of the free and enlightened citizens of the United States, confirm the above statements.

Mr. Pratt, in one of his letters, says he congratulates himself on the rapid triumphs of Don Emilio Aguinaldo over the Spaniards, as it proves the wisdom of his judgment in recommending him to Admiral (then Commodore) Dewey and the Government at Washington, and he added that he hoped to receive, when General Aguinaldo captured Manila, some historic memento of the place and of the incident, such as the flag or keys of the city or principal fortress.

Consul General Wildman, of Hongkong, instructed Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo, in a letter attached hereto, respecting the treatment of Spanish prisoners, advising General Aguinaldo to give them only rice and water and treat the Spaniards "as they would treat you," advice which our humane leader declined to accept and act upon.

Thus in this wholly unexpected and unforeseen way bonds of good will and friendship were formed between Americans and Filipinos, resulting, as is well known, in the heroic and triumphant campaign of the Filipino army against the Spaniards, though it must be admitted, with due regard for the truth, that after the above-mentioned assistance and cordial cooperation our army received no more aid from the high officers of the United States, the Filipino army thereafter prosecuting the war against the Spanish land forces independently of any authority other than that exercised by our successful and brave leader, Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo, who, while directing the military operations with well-nigh miraculous skill and startling results, was also engaged in the task of organizing the Filipino national government on the model of Western nations, which are, admittedly, founders and leaders of modern civilization.

Thus it is plain that it was through providential agencies that the Filipino state came into being on the 24th day of May, 1898, and has existed to this day, replacing the alien Spanish Government which fell definitely on the 13th day of August, 1898, on which day our troops, which, in fact, and as set forth in Consul-General Pratt's letters, had closely invested Manila for more than two months, captured the suburbs of Manila, driving the Spaniards from their defenses, while the United States forces peacefully occupied the walled city in accordance with the terms of capitulation signed by the Spanish general.

It would seem, therefore, that there can be no doubt that God, in his infinite goodness, wisdom, and mercy, intrusted to the honor of the United States the liberation and independence of the Filipinos; but notwithstanding the evidence that the hand of Providence has guided the course of events, the United States are now endeavoring to prevent the consummation of the glorious and just purposes of the Creator. By whom, by what agency, were the two peoples united in the bonds of sympathy and friendship? Who could have prevented it?

Who is it that has caused these two friends and brethren to wage war upon one another? Alas! esteemed citizens of the great American Republic, you know well who is the cause of such reckless perturbation. It is the President of your Republic, Mr. William McKinley, who, using as a pretext alleged rights obtained through the purchase of the more than doubtful sovereignty of Spain, gives evidence of his intention to ignore the bonds of friendship and guardianship which should unite the two nations by imposing on us, by force of arms, the sovereignty of the United States. Is this line of conduct of Mr. McKinley in harmony with the canons of morality simply be-

cause the American nation is greater, more opulent, and more powerful than the Filipinos? Surely it is not, for if moral obligations, which bind parties to respect the generally accepted codes of morality, are applicable in international affairs, it is beyond question that there should be no evasion of obligation on the part of the great American nation to stand by and protect the small Filipino nation until the great work of securing the recognition of our existence as an independent nation is recognized and thereby firmly established—a great work to which your consuls (above mentioned) and commanders unquestionably and providentially applied themselves.

In the name, therefore, of Almighty God, of humanity, and of national honor, I now appeal to the great and influential citizens of the United States to fulfill these obligations, by passing, as a matter of paramount importance, a just resolution in your national Congress officially recognizing our independence, thereby bringing to an end this inhuman and wicked war and restoring the reign of peace and harmony between Americans and Filipinos, who, in accordance with the infallible will of God, should live under the happy conditions of brotherhood.

SECOND.

Accomplished facts are accepted in dealing with things political as rights unless the facts are at variance with the doctrines laid down in international law or the eternal principles of justice. Strictly in accordance with these incontrovertible principles the independence of the United States was realized and recognized in the last century.

In the same manner, and in more recent times, the Kingdom of Italy and the German Empire have come into existence, the ruling principle being, and the reason of it, that all men are born equal and possess inalienable rights of life, liberty, independence, and freedom in the pursuit of happiness.

Now, it is indisputable that we, the Filipinos, defeated the Spaniards, capturing 9,000 prisoners, and set up a republican government in the place of the one which had been vanquished. It is also beyond question that these accomplished facts have been recognized in a practical manner by the high officers who at that time, and since then, represented the United States in this archipelago, which is proved by the correspondence of our leader with Admiral (then Commodore) Dewey and Generals Anderson, Merritt, and Otis, copies of which are attached hereto for the information of the citizens of the United States.

It is to be observed, in the first place, that in his first letter to Gen. Don Emilio Aguinaldo Admiral Dewey states that he has received with pleasure the documents forwarded to him by our distinguished leader, promising to transmit them to their respective destinations. The documents referred to are: The first proclamation issued by Gen. Don Emilio Aguinaldo announcing his arrival and the establishment of the dictatorial government at Cavite; also the proclamation of Philippine independence, issued in the town of Cavite, in the province of the same name—some to be forwarded to the United States Government in Washington and others to be forwarded to the representatives of the powers in Manila.

Secondly, it is to be noted that the Admiral in another letter asks General Aguinaldo for passports for several gentlemen recommended by the British consul, who was also acting consul for the United States of America in Manila, to enable them to travel freely and safely through our territory.

And, finally, it is noteworthy that Generals Anderson, Merritt, and Otis in their correspondence styled—as was only right and proper that they should—our leader “General Commanding the Philippine Revolutionary Army,” while General Anderson asked Gen. Don Emilio Aguinaldo for quarters and camping ground for the forces under his command, as well as other assistance and cooperation in the campaign against the Spaniards—our “common enemy.” It is also a well-known fact that the American commanders applied to us for positions and trenches for their troops in Maytubig so as to place their forces side by side with our troops in the siege of Manila. In fact, the records prove that everything was done in a manner that indicated full recognition of our triumphant revolution and the noble ends kept constantly in view, namely, our liberty and independence, and owing to which (the righteousness of our cause) the new Filipino State, by its just and irreproachable procedure, unquestionably merited the consideration and respect of the American commanders.

This explains how Admiral Dewey submitted for the disposition of Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo a protest lodged by the French consul in respect of the capture of the steamer *Compania de Filipinas*, which had been seized by us, the Admiral stating positively that he and his forces had nothing to do with the affair; held no jurisdiction in the premises.

In the light of the correspondence it is readily understood how Generals Anderson and Merritt came to address telegrams to Gen. Don Emilio Aguinaldo on the 13th of August, 1898 (the day on which our troops captured the whole of the suburbs of Manila and the Spaniards in the walled city

capitulated to the forces of the United States), requesting General Aguinaldo to give instructions for his troops to evacuate the suburbs in order to avoid the dangers inseparable from a dual military occupation, and offering to negotiate with General Aguinaldo afterwards.

Lastly, it is quite comprehensible how General Otis came to appeal to General Aguinaldo in the name of the United States Government for the release of the friars held by us as prisoners—acts which show in an eloquent manner distinct recognition of the sovereign power and authority of the Philippine people, which had been recovered from the Spaniards since then and re-assumed in the exalted and worthy personality of our leader, Gen. Don Emilio Aguinaldo.

Viewed from another standpoint the above-mentioned incidents might be held to indicate that they were clear evidence that it was the bounden duty of the American commanders to harass, and, if possible, quell the Philippine revolution, not convey our illustrious leader to Cavite, to begin with, and thereby afford him very favorable opportunity (in view of the mode of conveyance, his reception by the Admiral, and the permission granted him to establish his headquarters in Cavite, whence he issued, without protest of any kind by Admiral Dewey or anyone else, a proclamation calling on the people to rally round his standard and wage war upon Spain to wrest from her the sovereignty of the archipelago) to revive the revolution against Spain, using his prestige and exercising his authority and genius to that end. But far from being indiscreet or ill-considered action, the recognition of General Aguinaldo's power and prestige, the arrangement to bring him back to the Philippines, the courtesy extended to him by Admiral Dewey, and the conduct of your consuls and generals was, on the contrary, rightful recognition of our revolution, in that our sovereign rights and independent authority in the archipelago was practically conceded and accepted as accomplished facts. It is therefore evident that we have a perfect right, and are not straining any points, in demanding from the Government of Washington official recognition of our independence, basing the demand on the above-mentioned reason that accomplished facts in affairs political constitute right.

This is altogether apart from and does not clash with the victories of your troops over the Spaniards, nor the cession of sovereignty by Spain in the treaty of Paris of the 10th of December last in favor of the United States.

As regards your victories, there are the proclamations of General Merritt and the letters of General Anderson clearly setting forth that America did not come to the Philippines to make conquests, much less to wage war against the natives, but to free the people from the galling yoke of Spain. "We came not as enemies, but as liberators." Such were the solemn pledges of your Generals Merritt and Anderson to the Filipinos when they arrived in these islands.

Therefore it is plain that it can not be claimed that by reason of your victories over the Spaniards rights of conquest accrue to you as being due from the Filipinos for the all-sufficient reason that you were not engaged in war with us between the 1st of May, 1898, and the 4th of February, 1899, during the night of which latter date your forces, in accordance with the orders of President William McKinley, commenced hostilities against our forces for the purpose of establishing American sovereignty in our archipelago by force of arms.

As for the cession of sovereignty, I have to say it is a null and void agreement in every respect, for it has been celebrated in contravention of all rules of international law and in opposition to the eternal principles of justice.

For example: It is not moral, nor could it be just, and much less is it in accord with international right to say to a nation: "I will help you to sweep away Spanish sovereignty and make you independent, and after helping you to sweep away and destroy the said sovereignty I come and buy the sovereignty from Spain by title of cession and impose it by force of arms upon the protected people."

Such a proceeding is self-condemnatory, for its accomplishment rests only with arbitrary power and in the power of anyone exercising such power and carrying it to the extent of injuring an ally or a friend to whom protection is offered. Fiore, Bluntschli, and Hallet, authorities on international right, established as a rule to be universally applied the following: "It is not just under the pretext of assumed laws of nations to amalgamate or segregate a people against their obvious will spontaneously and voluntarily acclaimed."

Therefore the cession in question is an act completely null and void, being neither moral nor just; nor is it even licit according to international law.

On the other hand, in respect of cessions the essential conditions include the possession of what is ceded, and when it concerns inhabited territories the concordance and express consent of the inhabitants is necessary. Neither of these conditions have been fulfilled in respect of the cession of the Philippines by the treaty of Paris of the 10th December, 1898. First, because at that date, and long before it, Spain exercised no sovereignty whatever over any Philippine territory, which was reconquered by us and governed

by us since June, 1898, which facts were well known to the Governments of Washington and Madrid. Second, because the Philippine people had publicly and loyally manifested to the Government of Washington and to the whole world that it was their desire to live independently of all alien sovereignty; and perhaps on this account our wishes were not consulted when the cession was made. An act, without doubt, of bad faith on the part of the two contracting parties, who were perforce obliged to make the terms null and void by reason of this false step.

Consequently the treaty of Paris of 10th December, 1898, does not convey any sovereign rights whatever in favor of the United States over any of the Philippine Islands or its inhabitants. Nor are the United States in any way entitled by it to impose upon the Philippine people an alien sovereignty by force of arms.

The United States, therefore, can not be excused from recognizing our independence either on account of their victories over the Spaniards or by reason of the provisions of the treaty of Paris. We, however, readily admit that our gratitude and full recognition are due to the great North American nation for the generous assistance proffered us by their consular representatives and commanders in bringing from Hongkong to Cavite our illustrious leader to continue the rebellion against Spain, and then, by respecting that revolution, recognizing it as the sovereign power which replaced that which Spain had lost; but, from the fact of oppressing us and endeavoring to filch from us our liberties, subjecting our independence, so dearly won, to the influence of a new foreign yoke there is a wide gulf fixed, which is as limitless as the distance to another world, and the only possible way to accomplish your object is to destroy the lives of 8,000,000 Filipinos—an act which would leave on the hitherto spotless pages of your glorious history and traditional liberality an everlasting and indelible stain.

THIRD.

The Filipinos can justly boast of a social status on a par with cultured peoples and are fit to commingle and live on an equality with civilized nations, forming in common with them part of the magna civitas.

We are a community of 8,000,000 people politically organized on well-defined territory, with our own government, which is competent to and sufficient for the protection of the rights of our citizens and capable of assuming full responsibility for our acts in the conduct of relations with other states. We have an official language—Spanish. We have accepted an enlightened religion—the Roman Catholic faith. Strict morality, which emanates from christianizing influences, governs our manners and customs. Our laws are on a par with statutes of other civilized states, being identical with those in operation in these islands during the last few years, which have been generally accepted as meeting the requirements of civilized communities. And, lastly, we live in families, in towns, and in cities, affording permanent evidence of a status of cultured and civilized society; it being universally conceded that the Philippines, unlike other far eastern states, have invariably extended hospitality to all foreigners and enjoy the reputation of exceptional faultlessness and the strongest aversion to anything in the nature of barbarous conduct.

We, the Filipinos, respect life, honor, and rights in property, and punish with severe penalties all violations of these governing principles of humanity. We also have laws encouraging the knowledge of science and arts, protecting industries, commerce, and agriculture, and we profess, finally, our acquaintance with all the most noble sentiments of friendship, gratitude, and honesty.

We possess, therefore, all the conditions requisite for existence as an independent state according to article 37 of the International Code of the famous juriconsult Fiore, and that being so, we are perfectly justified in demanding from all the great civilized states official recognition of our independence in conformity with articles 44, 48, and 49 of the said standard work, which provides, moreover, that such recognition can not, under the circumstances, be denied us, nor should it be unduly delayed. It is clearly set forth in articles 55 and 56 of Fiore's work that any course of procedure in contravention of the foregoing articles is opposed to the principle of high policy.

To better prove to the people of the United States our culture and state of civilization there are annexed to this document copies of our fundamental laws and various decrees relating to the establishment of our executive and judicial administration, our educational establishments, and our army regulations. In this way, perhaps, the people of the States will be better able to grasp the truth respecting our advancement along the highroad of modern civilization and be thereby convinced of our ability to rule and govern ourselves in an independent manner.

These are the reasons why we appeal for official recognition of our independence—reason which we confidently submit to the deep conscientiousness and of the enlightened people of the United States—a people destined by

God to decide the fate of our unfortunate country—a fate which would be better if, heeding the dictates of justice and humanity, your President, Mr. McKinley, had not chosen to wage this cruel, devastating war against us with your powerful land and sea forces.

It is sometimes said that we are to blame for the outbreak of hostilities during the night of the 4th February last, but this is not an established fact.

In the first place, because we, the Filipinos, were expecting at that very time (the beginning of February) official recognition of our independence from the Government of Washington, an expectation which was justified by the annexed letter of Gen. E. S. Otis, dated 25th January; also on account of what took place at the conferences of the mixed commissions of Americans and Filipinos, which sat in Manila during the latter part of the said month of January to discuss matters and arrange for a basis of friendly relations between the two parties, which, it was hoped, would be permanent. Moreover, there was another reason, namely, the Filipinos were fully aware of the superior strength of your forces, against whom it would have been criminal folly to pit our inexperienced and undisciplined army.

Accordingly, it is unquestionable that we were not the aggressors, for we knew full well that were we to act on the offensive we could look for neither military nor political gain of any kind. On the contrary, we regarded such action as bordering on suicidal folly and well-nigh sure to bring down on us the hatred and contempt of the American people. We had, in fact, nothing to gain and very much to lose by aggression.

Esteemed citizens of the United States, if with the foregoing reasoning there be borne in mind the fact that we were living in peace and harmony with your forces since June, without the smallest intention or inclination to commence hostilities, at a period when your forces were smaller and therefore more easy to cope with than subsequently, I verily believe that the enlightened people of the United States will not be slow to realize that it is not in the least degree probable, nor is it reasonable to assume that we were the aggressors, seeing that we stood in need of their good will and were anxious to court and maintain a favorable impression with the American electorate in the interest of our cause. Peace and good will were essential to the success of our cause—a cause which would at once be jeopardized by any overt act of aggression.

We are neither celebrated warriors nor great fighters; nor are we as quixotic as the Spaniards. We took up arms to obtain our independence, and it is self-evident that we did not develop our little armed force for the purpose of making an enemy of such a great and mighty people as the citizens of the United States in order that thereby our noble cause might the more easily triumph.

If we call to mind the fact that your President, Mr. McKinley, caused reinforcements to be sent to Manila after the capitulation by Spain on the 30th August, 1898, if we remember his refusal to listen to our humble petition to him, praying for recognition of our independence through our representative, Don Felipe Agoncillo, whom he refused to receive, or whether we recall the fact that he refused to give ear unto our appeal through the good offices of General Otis, as is proved by a letter from the General and the [omission in copy] to; and if we take into consideration that, lastly and finally, the treaty of Paris was so framed as to involve the cession of the sovereignty of Spain to the United States, I am of opinion that the most natural sequence of these incontestable moves of Mr. McKinley is to be found in the outbreak of hostilities, namely, an order from your President to General Otis to commence with acts of aggression and impose on us that odious sovereignty by force of arms, notwithstanding the fact that we had demonstrated and made it evident in every possible way from the first that we would accept no solution other than our independence.

You, honorable representatives of the people of the United States, having in view the providential bonds which bind the fate of the Philippines to your supreme decision, surely you will not be unmindful at such a momentous epoch of the sublime principles of right and justice proclaimed by the illustrious founders of your independence on 4th June, 1776. Endowed with those magnificent principles your nation advanced rapidly along the paths of progress till it became great and powerful, admired and respected by all the aged states of Europe.

Trusting, therefore in your glorious traditions of humanity and liberality, the Filipinos look forward with confidence to obtaining from your acknowledged rectitude a just resolution officially recognizing the independence of our beloved country.

I have the honor to be, gentlemen, yours, very respectfully,

(Signed)

FELIPE BUENCAMINO.

TARLAC, P. I., 20th August, 1899.

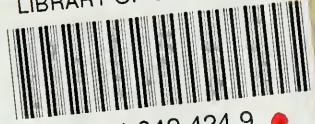
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